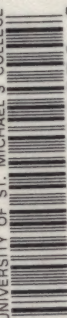


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THE TWO RELIGIONS OF ISRAEL



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THE TWO RELIGIONS OF ISRAEL

WITH
A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE PROPHETIC
NARRATIVES AND UTTERANCES

BY
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HONORARY FELLOW OF ORIEL AND WORCESTER COLLEGES
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LONDON
ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK

1911

*Dunque che è ? perchè, perchè ristai ?
Perchè tanta viltà nel cuore allette ?
Perchè ardire e franchezza non hai ?
Poscia che tai tre donne benedette
Curan di te nella corte del cielo,
E il mio parlar tanto ben t' impromette ?*

Dante, *Inferno*, ii. 121-126.

PREFACE

IN every progressive people a time arrives when there has to be a conflict between the old religion and the new, and the conflict is long-continued and never altogether decided. So it was in Israel, so it is still in Christendom; and the relation between Judaism and Christianity imparts a special interest to the story of the conflict between the two religions in Israel.

The evidence for this conflict, however, needs a careful re-examination. In order to write the present volume and its predecessors I have had to question many things which I formerly held to be, if not true, yet as near to truth as an unkind destiny permitted. I have ventured, at an age when I might perhaps, in the great Lord Russell's phrase, have 'rested and been thankful,' to take a step or two in advance, and to assert a claim to work on largely original lines. In order to do this I have kept myself abreast of the discovery of fresh facts, and have also further developed my textual studies, and on this basis have sought to give more satisfactory solutions of the historical and exegetical problems actually before us. Let those be severe upon me for my audacity who, in the fulness of youthful energy, are prepared to perform the same duty better.

I do not think that any one will accuse me of unwillingness to learn from the most varied teachers, whether seniors or juniors. It has sometimes happened to me, in this and other recent works, to be helped towards highly probable or

even certain conclusions by scholars who were strongly disinclined to my own more advanced point of view. In this connexion I may specially mention the learned and gifted but, unfortunately, too impetuous and imperious Eduard Meyer, whose conclusions on the Egyptian prophecies and on the volcanic nature of the true Mount Horeb or Sinai I have made my own. This, it is true, has been a somewhat rare experience. Generally Prof. Meyer stands by himself. It may well be that he anticipates that even the partial reception of my results would issue in a revision, both of the critical analysis of the prophetic records, and of the dates commonly assigned to many of them. This would most probably be, to him, an unwelcome phenomenon, and in some degree a hindrance to his great historical work.

To Gunkel and Gressmann I am more indebted than to Ed. Meyer. It was natural that, having long since been an adherent of what I may call the mythological method, I should hail the further development of that method, on the basis of Zimmern's facts, which we owe to these original scholars. I cannot, however, accept their defence (see especially Gressmann's *Eschatologie*) of the authenticity of the eschatological passages of the prophetic records as decisive. The reader will see for himself what I have to plead in the second part of this volume. I have also had the pleasure of making frequent reference to Prof. W. Staerk's *Das assyrische Weltreich im Urteil der Propheten* (1908). The darts which this eager scholar hurls at Stade and Marti are, I think, quite harmless. There is no occasion that I can see to undo altogether the work of the 'higher critics' of the last century as regards the eschatological passages referred to. Prof. Staerk seems to me to be often mistaken. But he is a good representative of the philological section of the once dominant 'higher critical' school, and, even in differing from him, I can feel

a sympathy with him that I do not feel in at all the same degree in reading Meyer's *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (1906).

Dr. B. Luther's contribution on 'the Yahwist' to Ed. Meyer's volume is pleasanter reading, but space forbids me to comment on it. Two small but, for me, more important works claim to be mentioned, viz. Friedrich KÜCHLER's *Die Stellung des Propheten Isaja zur Politik seiner Zeit* (1906) and Albrecht ALT's *Israel und Ägypten; die politischen Beziehungen der Könige von Israel und Juda zu den Pharaonen nach den Quellen untersucht* (1909). The strength of the former is in Assyriology (Dr. KÜCHLER is an expert); that of the latter in Egyptology. Both works are welcome additions to what I may call summarising literature, but neither writer is free enough as regards the treatment of the Hebrew text. There is therefore a fundamental difference between us. My own point of view as regards textual criticism is given in the Prologue to *Critica Biblica* (1905), from which I have seen no reason to go back. Neither Dr. KÜCHLER nor Dr. ALT has made any but the most superficial study either of my methods or of their application. The one expressly puts me down as (except on prophecy) a follower of WINCKLER, the other virtually does the same by referring exclusively (so far as I can see) to the article 'Mizraim' in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. I am sure, however, that WINCKLER would not wish to own me as a disciple; the standard of discipleship set by himself, and fully realised by Wilhelm ERBT, is much too high. It is true, without WINCKLER's discovery of the North Arabian MUṢRI and KUSH my six years' study of the N. Arabian question could have had no existence, but WINCKLER's mythological theories seem to me greatly exaggerated, and his textual criticism and my own are almost wide as the poles asunder.¹ It is a natural consequence

¹ See, however, my note on Isaiah xxix. 1.

of this that there is between us a far-reaching difference in the forms of the N. Arabian theory which we respectively have devised. It is high time that such distortions and omissions of facts, however undesigned, should be signalled and brought to an end. As a summary of my own position I may refer students to the 'Prologue' referred to above, and to some pages in *Bible Problems* (1906), but especially to the introduction to *The Decline and Fall of the Kingdom of Judah* (1908), which requires no modification.

I have myself, no doubt, done a good deal to assist Winckler to obtain a hearing in the forum of scholarship. This may have been misunderstood by some continental scholars; it is simply due to the love of fair-play characteristic, as one hopes, of Englishmen. And it is still my opinion that, quite apart from this acute scholar's mythological theories, there is enough in both parts of the third edition of *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* to entitle both Winckler and Zimmern to the lively gratitude of Biblical students. There are also much smaller productions of Winckler's pen which both deserve and require the attention of scholars. In one of them, be it noted, he deals some telling blows both to Kùchler and to Ed. Meyer. So far as the Muşri question is concerned I venture to think that he comes off the best man in the controversy.

My own most recent, and, I hope, most accurate treatment of the N. Arabian question, is to be found in the introduction to *D. and F.* already referred to. That here I am in the main right seems to me, in spite of Dr. Driver and Dr. Skinner in England, and Dr. Ed. Meyer and Dr. Gressmann in Germany, very certain. I base this assurance not only on the scanty cuneiform data (on which I personally agree with Winckler against Ed. Meyer), but on the existence of a large number of Old Testament passages which can only be explained upon my form of the N. Arabian theory. Hard as those respected critics and interpreters,

Nowack, Marti, Staerk, have worked in explaining the inexplicable and correcting (without the means of effective control) the corruption of the traditional text, the result has been far from commensurate with the toil; the old methods are too frequently baffled.

Before I conclude, let me mention, with strong moral sympathy, the works of one senior and four junior scholars. The senior is Dr. Driver, author of *Amos and Joel*, and of *Jeremiah*, etc.; the juniors are Paul Volz, C. F. Burney, G. B. Gray, and S. A. Cook. The two former I have almost sufficiently referred to in the Moses section, and the third in the Balaam section. The first has quite lately produced a new work, *Der Geist Gottes* (1910), which I might well have consulted had it reached me earlier (in 2 K. ix. 11 he explains *נִבֵּא* as equivalent to 'speaking with tongues,' a phenomenon referred to elsewhere with reference to the origin of prophecy). Mr. S. A. Cook's recent contribution to the *Cambridge Biblical Essays* (1909) displays the somewhat too characteristic fault of vagueness, but I have no doubt that in years to come this vagueness will prove to be merely the result of a peculiar form of conscientiousness. I have already reviewed his *Notes on O.T. History* (1907) at some length in the *Review of Theology and Philosophy*, January 1908 ('Survey'), not disguising my opinion, even when it was not quite as favourable as I could wish. Mr. Cook's aims are very high; his achievements will not be disappointing, if only he enlarges his basis.

And now what remains but to say that I have, amidst many hindrances, tried to reconstruct a dearly loved house which seemed almost about to fall? I have sought to disillusionise my brethren as gently as possible, and to give them something better in compensation. 'Do out the duty,' says our brave Robert Browning. I have hearkened to his call, though not 'ever a fighter,' as he

tells us, in that precious poem 'Prospice,' that he himself was. May more of the juniors 'come to my help against the mighty,' and may no fragments of truth fail to be built into the new fabric which the end of this half-century will surely see, fair and high, and of many colours !

OXFORD, *September* 18, 1910.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- E. Bib.*, 'Encyclopædia Biblica.'
- ZATW*, 'Zeitschrift der Alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft.'
- T. and B.*, 'Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel.' By T. K. Cheyne.
- D. and F.*, 'Decline and Fall of the Kingdom of Judah.' By the same.
- Crit. Bib.*, 'Critica Biblica.' By the same.
- Eschat.*, 'Der Ursprung der Isr.-Jüd. Eschatologie.' By H. Gressmann.
- Rel. Sem.*⁽²⁾, 'The Religion of the Semites.' By W. Robertson Smith. Second edition.
- KAT*⁽³⁾, 'Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament.' Third edition, rewritten by H. Winckler and H. Zimmern.
- KB*, 'Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.' Edited by Eb. Schrader.
- Grundriss*, 'Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des Alten Orients.' By Fritz Hommel, vol. i.
- BDB*, Hebrew Lexicon. Edited after Gesenius by Professors Francis Brown, Driver, and Briggs.
- Ges. Buhl.*, Buhl's edition, largely recast, of Gesenius' Hebrew Lexicon.
- Intr. Is.*, 'Introduction to the Book of Isaiah.' By T. K. Cheyne.
- JQR*, 'Jewish Quarterly Review.'
- AOF*, 'Altorientalische Forschungen.' By H. Winckler.
- AJTh*, 'American Journal of Theology.'
- AJSL*, 'American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.'
- JBL*, 'Journal of Biblical Literature.'
- PSBA*, 'Proceedings of Society of Biblical Archaeology.'
- SBOT*, 'Sacred Books of the Old Testament.' Edited by Paul Haupt.
- (See also 'Abbreviations' in *Encyclopædia Biblica*.)

THE TWO RELIGIONS OF ISRAEL

INTRODUCTION

I

MAGIC and religion, so far as we can see, began together ; sorcerer and priest had a common origin. Their discrimination and dissociation was a slow and painful process, and for a long time the work must have proceeded insensibly. How it was that the tender plant of religion escaped being stifled by the dangerous overgrowth of magic is a subject for discussion. I may venture on the suggestion that the escape was mainly due to the work of gifted individuals, the unconscious pioneers of religious progress. As the Indian thinker Vivekananda boldly says, Buddha was great, but in some sense greater still were the silent thinkers who preceded him. It is true these prophets of early times could not be eminent in action, but they must have been great in will-power. They had the immensely hard task of counteracting the societies of powerful magicians, on whose side was the prestige of secret lore and often of hereditary social rank. Let us, however, beware of exaggeration. It would, doubtless, sometimes happen that a spark from the heavenly fire would descend upon professional magicians, as in a later age is said to have been the experience of Balaam. The Spirit 'bloweth where he listeth,' and a Balaam among the prophets would be all the less surprising, when, out of the theriomorphic objects of primitive reverence or worship,¹ anthropomorphic divinities had arisen.² A cultus which in-

¹ Reverence does not necessarily issue in worship. The restless ghosts and, at any rate, the harmful class of *jinn* were propitiated but hardly worshipped.

² On 'theriomorphic' and 'anthropomorphic' see *T. and B.*, pp. 7, 21, 31, 33, 118 ; S. A. Cook, *Religion of Ancient Palestine*, p. 49.

cluded worship then first became possible, and, mixed in character as this cultus must have been, we cannot deny the existence, even at such an early period, of a genuine though still rudimentary religion.

The aim of religious persons must already have been to preserve or intensify the sense of oneness with God, or rather with that superhuman being who had now at length begun to appear as God. This was effected, in the first instance, by symbolic rites of the nature of mysteries, open only to those who had been duly initiated¹ and admitted to tribal religious communion, but also, no doubt, by sacrifices whether for the tribe or people or for individuals. I repeat that I do not deny an inconsistent magical element in the rites. As early as the period of Gudea, we find the Babylonian priests of incantation, whose sphere of activity was properly confined to huts in the fields, installed in the temple along with the singing priests.² Hence a theoretical inconsistency which cannot surprise us. I only claim the recognition of a delicately beautiful germinating religion earlier than the earliest Sumerian hymns, and of its heroic but unconscious pioneers.

But if the tribe or people, both corporately and (in the Sumerian hymns) individually, had become one with its anthropomorphic divinity, what appellation would be good enough for him? Men would not, indeed, always use this title; it is a proof of devoutness to multiply divine titles and appellations. But the spirit of the primæval Father-name would pervade their infantine religion, and those who were most truly religious would not be the least forward to make demands of their divine Kinsman. In fact, all—and much more than all—that could be expected of a rich human father would be expected from him who was at once culture-bringer, protector, and (as had been said even in the theriomorphic stage of his being) author and begetter of his people. In times of need, and especially in the oft-recurring times of war, this would be very conspicuous, and

¹ See Simpson, *The Jonah Legend* (1899), chap. iv. 'Initiatory Rites' (pp. 34-96).

² Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms* (1909), Introd., pp. vii f.

there would be some peculiarly organised persons who would not be content without additional and supernatural energies. By means well known to primitive races zealous enthusiasts, gathered as it were for contagion's sake in companies, would go through certain processes warranted to produce those psycho-physical changes which would make them into new men. Foremost among these were music and dancing. The Old Testament passages have been referred to elsewhere,¹ but I may quote here a partial parallel from an authoritative description² of the Thracian mysteries of Dionysos.

'The rite was performed on hill-tops, in the darkness of night, by the doubtful light of torches. Amid the sound of music, the clashing of brazen cymbals, the rolling thunder of a great drum, and the deep note of the flute "enticing to madness," the band of worshippers danced over the hillside in a whirling, raving, rushing circle. When their emotions were raised to the highest pitch they hurled themselves upon the beast chosen for sacrifice.'

Such proceedings certainly were a cruel overstrain of human nature, but the craving for a more intense consciousness of union with the divine left the devotee no alternative. God-possession was a prize difficult to obtain, but when secured was 'sweeter than honey and the honey-comb.' And in some degree it might be communicable even to those who had not agonised to obtain it. Zeal at any rate is infectious. We can well suppose that in war-time the young men, and perhaps, also,³ some of the young women, would gather religious enthusiasm from the example of the devotees. The natural centre of these dervishes (as we may call them) would be the sanctuary.⁴ Thither the young men, too, would resort to consecrate themselves for the fight. For wars in primitive times were holy wars. On both sides gods as well as men were combatants, and midway between the two were those men who had obtained the high privilege

¹ See Samuel section.

² Rohde, *Psyche*, ii. 18-20 (as rendered by Prof. Inge, *Faith*, p. 69). The proceedings of the Hebrew prophet-dervishes, however, do not appear to have been nocturnal.

³ See Judg. iv. 4.

⁴ See 1 Sam. x. 5, xix. 20.

of the divine indwelling. How such divinized men would fight! It would be as if the stars in their courses fought against the enemy. And should the case arise that the danger from enemies was continuous, the dervish who had shown most valour would become permanent captain and ruler. For the divine energizing could not be limited to warlike operations; the god within the man would develop the germs (may we say?) of unsuspected faculties, and qualify him to be a supreme judge or decider in the intervals of peace. It might even sometimes happen that a specially gifted priest might be caught and held by the divinity, and become in the first instance captain of the host, and then ruler, but since divine gifts are without respect of person or caste, that would probably be a rarity. Besides, the priests would have regular work enough of their own, both as oracle-givers and as guardians of the cultus, and, in time of war, as cursers of the enemy (Num. xxii. 11), and as the escort of the portable shrines of the gods on the field of battle (1 Sam. iv. 4).

As time went on, however, religion must have developed further, and with it prophecy. One of the chief signs of this development, so far as religion is concerned, would be the change which was bound to pass over prayer. Not that the change would be complete all at once; the old prayer, which mainly consisted in the recitation of adapted magic formulæ, would leave some traces of itself in the new. But there must have begun at length to be a strange, new, and more distinctly personal element in prayer (see 1 Sam. i. 10-16). This does not mean that the new prayer would be all for selfish ends, and modelled on the formula, 'Give me, O God, that which I ask.' The new prayer would be in some measure self-renouncing, and be framed on this model: 'Tell me what I shall do, or suffer, or give up for thee,' or, in Samuel's words, 'Speak, for thy servant hearkens.' The conventional sacrifices must have ceased to appear at all adequate to the need which prompted them. Nor would the sacrifices substituted for the cruel sacrifices of children, in spite of the high thought which lurked beneath them, continue to satisfy. No one, however, except in India, seems ever to have thought of flowers as the only worthy substitute

for all kinds of animal sacrifice. But we may venture to assume that many devout persons in cultured peoples began, at a certain point of their development, to regard sacrifices as symbolical of obedience. Zarathustra, for instance, or a disciple, offers up 'his obedience to the precepts and all his power'¹ as the most acceptable sacrifice, and Hosea's words (Hos. vi. 6), to be quoted later on, are a proof of the advanced piety of the prophets of Israel and their adherents.

Such persons must have been out of sympathy with the soothsayers and diviners, and not contented with the results of the dervishes. With regard to the soothsayers, they would not withhold from them the tribute of their respect in so far as they supported the pure traditions of antiquity, but these devoted religionists would dislike the methods inseparable from the art of divination.² The use of gross material means to illuminate the obscure would appear to them illegitimate. It was surely an act of presumption to try to put force on the unwilling Deity. And with regard to the dervishes, could not the more than human Friend be communed with somewhat differently? God and man being of kin, and there being a class of men in whom God was pleased to dwell—God-men, could not larger results be obtained from this privilege? Might not these men become interpreters between God and man? It would no doubt be observed, that when the God-possessed were at the height of their experience strange inarticulate sounds issued from their lips. Were not these sounds susceptible of interpretation? and could not the interpretative faculty of an older God-possessed person become helpful to a young aspirant after the great gift,—or, more shortly, could not the novice be trained to find the meaning of these sounds? And a further question would suggest itself. Could he not by the new, non-magical kind of prayer obtain a special boon which would impart unity to his future prophetic career? I mean by this a revelation of his personal vocation and of the main features of his destined work. The revelation would naturally take the form of a vision and an audition, *i.e.* of mystic sights and sounds, the like of which his spiritual 'father' (2 K. ii. 12) would already have trained

¹ *Yasna*, xxxiii. 14.

² See *E. Bib.*, 'Divination.'

him to interpret. One may fitly support these considerations in part by a reference to 1 Cor. xiv. The 'speaking with tongues,' mentioned by St. Paul, must have been analogous to the inarticulate utterances of those early religious enthusiasts, like which, for the instruction of others, they urgently needed interpretation.

But though this may account for the first appearance of a new class of prophets, *i.e.* for the transition from a rapture which the secular-minded called madness to a supernormal consciousness,¹ which is consistent with high ethical purpose, it fails to explain the great things which were accomplished by spiritual giants like Zarathustra, like Amos and his fellows, and perhaps one may add, like the fervidly religious men who by their combined work created the character and prophetic career of Moses. It is improbable that ecstatic experiences were as common with Amos as with his predecessors, and the conception formed of Moses (Num. xii. 6-8) and of Samuel (1 Sam. iii.) by the narrators had no room for an ecstatic element. Nor are there any traces of a violently abnormal stage in the development of Zarathustra. Inspired Zarathustra certainly claimed to be, but he never, as it would seem, allowed himself to be acted upon by morbid physical influences. He knew himself to be morally Godlike, and believing Ahura to be a personal being like himself, he expected those divine communications which, he would have told us, actually came. There was no need for Ahura to disturb the balance of his friend's various faculties; what he did was to intensify Zarathustra's powers, and to direct him in the use of them. Zarathustra thought, no doubt, that these communications came from without; many of us moderns may prefer to say that it was the God within who in this way elevated Zarathustra, and made him yet more Godlike. But the form of expression matters little. Suffice it that Ahura spoke to Zarathustra 'as a man speaketh unto his friend' (Ex. xxxiii. 11, Moses), and that Zarathustra listened to the divine Voice, and drew fearless courage and penetrating insight into God's purposes (cp. Am. iii. 7) from listening. The courage was there before; the

¹ No analysis of prophecy can disregard a certain superrational element in the phenomenon.

penetration was there before; but the God-consciousness which Zarathustra had was so immediate that his natural faculties seemed to him to be newly given, and given for no common ends. And the two great ends which this spokesman of the All-wise had in view were the same as those of the grandly imagined Moses, and virtually not far removed from those of Amos and Isaiah. But this I shall have to refer to later.

The above sketch is the text or prelude of inquiries which will presently be made. It is an attempt to realise in the light of the comparative point of view the lines along which the religion of Israel may or must have developed. Analogous phenomena, especially Babylonian, exist in plenty as regards the lower religion, but they are not equally abundant for the higher. For divination, which is so closely linked with the lower religion, Babylonian literature is a perfect storehouse of facts, but the results of a search for genuine Babylonian prophecies are disappointing. There is something very much more like the finest type of Hebrew prophecy in the Gâthâs of Zarathustra than anything which Babylonian study has yet produced.¹ If we may follow Geldner, these metrical chants of the great reformer of Mazda-worship go back to the fourteenth century B.C. That seems to me uncertain. But at any rate, internal evidence shows that we are not dealing with artificial revelations,² but with original thoughts suggested to the writer's and speaker's mind by the great God with whom spiritually he communed. It is remarkable that these prophetic hymns should contain so few childish conceptions. Some may ascribe this to an editor, but it is more satisfactory to account for the high religious standard of the hymns by the fact that they are addressed to the assembled church of instructed Mazda-worshippers. It is not strange that a Roman Catholic scholar (de Harlez) should compare him with Moses,³ whom tradition represents as prophet and

¹ *Zendavesta*, in *SBE*, vol. iii. (Mills).

² Cp. Margoliouth, *Mohammed*, pp. 85 f. On the other hand Nöldeke: 'The main thing remains. He never lost the firm conviction of his divine mission.'

³ Bishop Westcott has less defensibly compared Abraham, *The Gospel of Life*, p. 182.

lawgiver in one, and who, if historical, would be perhaps nearer to Zarathustra's age than Amos and Hosea. Nevertheless it is safer to place him beside these prophets for the purposes of comparison. If they were conscious of a personal prophetic call, so was he. If they had a faith which could move mountains and burn up all the earthly self-life, so had he. If they were in violent opposition to another and less pure form of national religion, so was he. We cannot, it is true, bring either the Gâthâs or any tradition of their author into historical connexion with the Hebrew writer-prophets, but we can allow ourselves to abate our jealous partiality, and own that the peculiar inward experience of Amos and Hosea was shared in essentials by the Iranian prophet Zarathustra.¹

But at present we must return to Babylon and Assyria, which seem to me to have been greater in hymns than in prophecies. Had they any prophecies at all? I venture to doubt it. With all deference to Prof. Peiser² and Dr. Johns,³ the oracles published by these scholars are very poor substitutes for real prophecies. A prophet who expresses such servility towards the king as the one quoted by Prof. Peiser, is no better than the 400 court-prophets of Ahab (1 Kings xxii. 6), who said, one and all, 'Go up, for Yahweh shall deliver it into the king's hand.' I gladly admit that Prof. Zimmern⁴ has thrown a fresh light on eschatological parts of Hebrew prophecies, but this light is derived, not from Babylonian prophecies properly so called, but from the 'omina-texts' and from sources influenced thereby. The traditional scheme of cosmic history was, of course, well known to the literary class in Babylon, but they did not try to convert this into prophecy by infusing into it a moral element. The greater prophets who adorned pre-exilic Israel were nothing if not moralists, and whenever they borrow or adapt anything from the common N. Semitic

¹ The claim is already made in my *Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter* (1891), pp. 395, 435.

² Peiser, *Mitteil. der vorderas. Gesellschaft* (1898), p. 157, quoted by König, *Die Babel-Bibel Frage* (1904), p. 17.

³ See his article, 'The Prophets in Babylonia,' *Interpreteer*, April 1906.

⁴ *KAT*⁽³⁾, pp. 380 ff., 384, 390 ff.; cp. *Enc. Bib.*, 'Messiah,' § 10.

eschatological scheme they moralise it (see on Amos iv. 6-12, v. 18-20). In the Messiah and restored Paradise they take no interest.

Let us, then, pass on to Egypt. It is rich, we know, in hymns; has it also anything really parallel to Hebrew prophecy? Predictions there are, no doubt. The Egyptians, like the Hebrews, says M. Maspero,¹ 'had their prophets whose predictions circulated from mouth to mouth, were then written down, and copied through long ages in fragments more or less changed from the original.' But can we affirm that these prophets had any striking spiritual capacity and an inward call to the prophethood, and that their subjects were parallel to those of the Hebrew prophets? As to the former point, we can, no doubt, mention an Egyptian prophecy attributed to a potter,² which seems to imply a liberal dispensing of the prophetic impulse. As a rule, however, the Egyptian prophets appear to have been a class of priests, and to members of this class, or at any rate to wise and cultured men, we may assign the prophecy of Amenôpis (namesake of the reigning king) about the lepers, given in abstract by Josephus (*c. Ap.*), who got it from Manetho, and a possible prophecy on a papyrus (I. 344) in the Leyden museum. One prophecy, strange to say, is assigned to a lamb (under king Bokchoris), who, after uttering his message at great length, dies, and is buried like a god. (This is apparently a standing feature; the 'prophets' die and are buried.) But of striking spiritual capacity and deep inward experience there does not, thus far, appear to be a trace.

Next, as to the scheme and subject. The scheme, as Ed. Meyer⁴ has shown, is of primitive mythic origin. The

¹ *New Light on Ancient Egypt* (1909), p. 228. Cp. the obscure prophecies of the Ptolemaean period published by Revillout, *Revue égyptologique*, 1880, 1882.

² Under one of the kings called Amenôpis. For the prophecies see H. Ranke in *Altorient. Texte u. Bilder*, ed. Gressmann.

³ For a parallel cp. the death of the haruspex Vulcanius after announcing the end of the ninth age. Servius on Verg. *Ecl.* ix. 46. Pointed out by Reitzenstein.

⁴ *Die Israeliten*, pp. 451-455. Why I cannot follow Meyer in his view of Hebrew prophecy I have stated further on.

prophecies generally contain an elaborate description of the calamitous state of Egypt, and confidently announce a delivering king and the emergence of the land from its troubles. This is the case with a remarkable document (c. 2000 B.C.?) in which Gunkel, too, following H. O. Lange, notices a Messianic sound, which would confirm the view already suggested by Babylonian facts that the Jewish Messiah is of foreign origin. This, however, is not the only point which calls for investigation. There are, in all, three questions which have to be raised. The first is, whether the calamities described in this document are in the present or the future. Lange is for the future, but our countryman, Alan H. Gardiner, for the present. The next is, whether the king who is such a good shepherd of the flock is the Messianic ruler (as Lange) or the god Re, who in primæval times reigned as a model-king over the Nile-valley (as Gardiner). And the next, whether, even if not of 'Messianic' import, the 'admonition' of Ipuwer may not in another way be parallel to the written discourses of the oldest and the greatest of the Hebrew prophets.

On the first two questions much weight is due to the judgment of the latest editor (Gardiner), though I confess being much attracted myself by the 'Messianic' interpretation. On the third, we may listen to the opinion of Prof. J. H. Breasted,¹ an eminent American Egyptologist, which I will introduce by this scholar's condensed account of what Lange denominates 'prophecies' and Gardiner an 'admonition.' 'An Egyptian sage named Ipuwer stands in the presence of the king and some others, probably his court, and in response to a lost utterance of the king, the wise man addresses them in a long harangue. The bulk of this speech is occupied with a lurid description of the decadence and disorganisation of Egypt. The land resounds with the tumult of warfare, and "blood is everywhere." Even "the river is blood." Not only do Egyptians smite Egyptians, but the land is also overrun by foreigners, and the Delta swarms with Asiatics. "Robbery and violence rage on every highway, for commerce has ceased." "In religion

¹ 'The Earliest Social Prophet' (review of Gardiner's *Admonition of an Egyptian Sage*) in *Amer. Journ. of Theology*, Jan. 1910, pp. 114 ff.

iniquity and impiety rule." The prophet regards himself also as involved in this ruin, and asks in despair, "What shall we do concerning it?" The king is made directly responsible for these conditions. A brief reply of the king follows, but it is too broken and obscure to discern its import. A paragraph containing the brief rejoinder by Ipuwer concludes the document.'

The point on which Breasted lays stress is this:—the interest in the social and political condition of Israel shown by Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah is not greater than the interest in the condition of Egypt taken by Ipuwer and others like him many centuries before Amos. The rise of the social prophets in Palestine ceases to be an isolated or unexpected phenomenon. It now becomes possible to surmise that their work was partly influenced from Egypt. Or, as Breasted puts it: 'Just as we conclude that a certain artistic motive which appears at a certain stage of civilisation in Palestine must have been derived from a neighbouring source where we know it has long been at home, so must we begin to discern similar lines of communication along which less easily traceable influences unquestionably pass between two civilisations as closely situated geographically, commercially, and otherwise, as were Egypt and Palestine.'

In reply, I would admit that it is just conceivable that during the early monarchy educated scribes from the Israelite court travelled to the Delta, and became acquainted with Egyptian scribes, and, in spite of the difficulty of language, became acquainted with works of high aim like the *Admonition of Ipuwer*. But I cannot think a literary influence of Egypt upon S. Palestine at all probable, even at an earlier period than that suggested. From Syria and Babylonia in the north and from Arabia in the south came the only strong intellectual influences on Palestinian culture. If Egypt at all influenced the culture of Palestine it must have been through Phœnicia.

But how far can we compare the contents of Amos and Hosea to those of the *Admonition of Ipuwer*? Surely there is but little that is really parallel. And to this comparison it is a further objection that, while we know the course of the historical development of the Hebrew

prophets, we know of nothing corresponding to it in Egypt. It is true, at one point in that development there is a break of continuity. How the prophet-dervishes became the ministers of social order we are ignorant. But we can still, even in the prophets of righteousness, detect the old God-possession, only in a milder form, whereas in this Egyptian document we can trace nothing of the kind. There is, indeed, evidence that oracles in Egypt were sometimes delivered by youths in an ecstasy—see Wen-Amon's report on his voyage to Byblos (Golenisheff papyrus).¹ But there is nothing to connect such ecstasies with perfectly sane and well-educated men like Ipuwer. (Prof. Ed. Meyer's view in *Die Israeliten*, pp. 451-455, is correct in so far as he finds underlying the Egyptian prophecies a primæval myth of great future calamities to be followed by ideal felicity. But he greatly exaggerates the extent to which this myth is traceable in Amos and his successors, and errs in deriving the Israelite myth from Egypt rather than from Babylon.)

So, then, from the comparative point of view but little light can be thrown upon pre-exilic Hebrew prophecy. In its higher stage it remains unparalleled except by the phenomenon (which cannot be altogether imaginary) of the grand prophetic hymns of Zarathustra.² In its lower stage, however, it has many parallels. We find them not only in uncivilised countries to-day (witness the so-called medicine-men), but in the Egypt of the twelfth century (Wen-Amon). Nor must I forget to add that the abnormalness in action which characterises in some degree all varieties of prophecy, and which the average man designates madness, is also to be found in the grandest of mediæval attempts at the imitation of Christ (who indeed was also said to be beside himself); see the lives of St. Francis and of Jacopone da Todi, the latter of whom can even write a sincerely meant eulogy of madness. And the same ideas are expressed

¹ Maspero, *Contes populaires de l'anc. Égypte*, pp. 186 ff.; W. Max Müller, *MDVG*, 1900, i. 1-4; H. Ranke, in Gressmann's *Texte und Bilder*, i. 225 ff.

² See E. W. West, *Journ. of R. Asiatic Society*, April 1890, pp. 508 f.; Cheyne, *Origin of Psalter*, p. 435. No historical connexion between Iran and Palestine is possible even if we bring Zarathustra down to the seventh century B.C.

in these lines from one of the Florentine *Lodi* (sixteenth century) influenced by Jacopone :

Never was there so sweet a gladness,
Joy of so pure and strong a fashion,
As with zeal and love and passion
Thus to embrace Christ's holy madness.¹

II

The question may here be raised whether both the name and the phenomenon of the Israelite prophet-dervishes (described at length in the Samuel section) may not have come from some foreign source.² If so, we must not place this source in Babylonia, and connect *nābī* with the name of the Babylonian god Nebo,³ because the *nebi'im* were not originally Yahweh's spokesmen or interpreters, and because, as the textual evidence shows, the focus both of prophecy and of divination was N. Arabia. Provisionally it seems best to derive *nābī* from a Hebrew root meaning 'to effervesce, to gush,' alluding to the gushing out⁴ of strange sounds, characteristic, as we may assume, of the *nebi'im*. These sounds may well have seemed to possess a mystic meaning, and one might even imagine that the Greek rendering of *nābī*, viz. *προφήτης*, signified to the translator one who tells forth the meaning of the ecstatic *nābī*.⁵ At any rate, the *nābī* of early times, like the speaker 'with tongues' at Corinth (1 Cor. xiv.), was unintelligible; his utterance, like a Delphic oracle, needed explanation. One may well suppose (see Samuel section) that young aspirants to the prophethood were initiated into this difficult art.

The original sense of *nābī* here supposed may well have

¹ J. A. Symonds' rendering.

² So Wellhausen (in Bleek's *Einleitung*, ed. 4, 1878).

³ So Jastrow.

⁴ An analogous term may be *hittif*, 'to drop,' cp. Am. vii. 16; Mic. ii. 6, 11; Ezek. xxi. 2, 7. G. Hoffmann (*ZATW*, iii. 119) sees a reference to the drivel symptomatic of an epileptic fit.

⁵ Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Prophetic Literature,' § 1. Of course, a simple explanation is possible. *προφήτης* can mean 'one who tells forth what he has heard from God.'

disappeared in time from the common consciousness. In Ex. iv. 12, 14-16, Moses receives a mission to the Israelites, which is equivalent to a prophetic call. 'Now therefore go,' says Yahweh, 'and I will be thy mouth, and point out to thee what thou shalt say.' Then, as Moses still excuses himself on the ground of his slowness of speech, Yahweh makes a concession: Aaron, who speaks well, shall be to Moses for a mouth, and Moses shall be to Aaron for God (*elohim*). Moses, in short, shall 'put words in Aaron's mouth,' which words have been indicated somehow to Moses by Yahweh. And that there may be no mistake, God will be with Aaron's mouth as well as that of Moses. Thus the prophetic mission is divided between two (but cp. Ex. vii. 1).¹

The reader will not fail to notice that nothing is said here of mystic sounds proceeding from Moses' lips. It has been thought, however, that there is such a reference in Isaiah (xxviii. 10), and if in general a deep silence is kept by the higher prophets² on 'weak and beggarly elements,' we must remember that their great object was to forget those things which were behind and reach forth to those things which were before. And the secret of their successful reaching forth was their consciousness of being occupied and possessed by God, which implied the intensification and direction of their personal activity by the irresistible energizing of Yahweh. What we choose to call a mechanical conception of prophecy was, in fact, the only one possible to them, and in the Montanistic revival of prophecy we find it again; the prophet, as the Montanists said, is like a musical instrument under the plectron. No such poetical expression occurs in the O.T., but phrases which imply the underlying theory abound. In Jer. xx. 7, Yahweh 'entices' Jeremiah and 'prevails' over him (cp. 1 K. xxii. 20). More roughly, in Isa. viii. 11, a Hand puts compulsion on Isaiah to communicate his warning. In Jer. i. 9 the divine Hand is again referred to. It is said to touch Jeremiah's mouth, which is explained to mean that Yahweh's words are put

¹ Here Moses is made a God to Pharaoh, while Aaron is Moses' prophet (*nābī*).

² Of the lower prophets of the great period we have no first-hand information.

into it. Similarly Ezekiel opens his mouth and eats a book-roll (Ezek. ii. 8 *ff.*; cp. Jer. xv. 16). Another way of representing the prophet's complete dependence on his God is to say that he listened in the council of Yahweh (Jer. xxiii. 18; cp. Job xv. 8). He is so near to God that he can ask questions and expect an answering revelation (Hab. ii. 1 *ff.*). And what he hears, that he must speak (Num. xxii. 38, xxiii. 12); the God within him is like a burning fire (Jer. xx. 9). He is full of fury and indignation (Jer. vi. 11, xv. 17). Hence Yahweh is often represented as himself the speaker rather than the prophet.

This being the case, the words uttered by the prophet have a supernatural virtue. For himself they are nourishment. They also overtake the people to which they relate, and fulfil themselves in history (Isa. ix. 7, lv. 11; Zech. i. 6, ix. 1). This theory or principle is not dissimilar to that of the blessings and cursings of magicians (Num. xxii. 6 *b*, see Balaam-section). In fact, we cannot help seeing that the higher prophecy in both its forms was a real development of the lower and earlier (that represented in the time of Saul). It was, in spite of Breasted's attractive suggestion, a native product of S. Palestine, or if not entirely Palestinian, yet only influenced by a country whose people was closely akin to that of S. Palestine, viz. N. Arabia. But, of course, when we claim for prophecy a continuity of development we do not mean that there was no distinction between the class of prophets to which Amos and Isaiah belonged and the *nebi'im* of the time of Saul. These 'prophets' were really like dervishes. They had no revelation to communicate, and the reactionary conviction which animated them was that Israel's God could never desert his people. Doubtless the people had the same conviction, and all that the early *nebi'im* did for the people at large—*i.e.* for those who were not fighters—was to intensify their confidence. Their true representatives, therefore, were those who were afterwards called 'lying prophets,' such as the prophet Hananiah with whom Jeremiah had so sharp a conflict (see Jeremiah section).

The salient characteristics of the so-called 'lying prophets' are—(1) That in the time of Ahab many of them

supported the special cultus of Baal; and (2) That they habitually gave oracles (for professional fees) in accordance with the wishes of what we may call the nationalist or patriotic party. By 'supporting Baal' I mean supporting the claims of the older N. Arabian God Yerahme'el¹ to be the sole director of the divine Company in preference to the younger God Yahweh. And by the nationalist party I mean those who believed that Israel's God—whether Yerahme'el or Yahweh—was bound, by a tie which could not be severed, to protect the people which worshipped him. No doubt a longer and more piquant description could be given of these prophets if we took Jeremiah and Ezekiel for strictly accurate informants.² But anyhow we are not called upon to paint the lower prophets in the darkest hues. They may, some of them, have been unworthy, both as men and as prophets, of their high vocation,³ but we cannot rightly call them 'false prophets,' *i.e.* pretenders to a standing which they did not deserve. No less a prophet than Micaiah throws the responsibility of the misleading oracle of Ahab's four hundred prophets on Yahweh, who had 'put a lying spirit in their mouth' (1 K. xxii. 23). Isaiah, too, recognises the place of the prophets as a body in the social system (Isa. iii. 2), and if they guarded the traditions of their order too closely, this is but ordinary religious conservatism. Their great misfortune was twofold: first, their conventional view of morality, and, secondly, their absurdly narrow conception of God's purposes. They failed to perceive that a non-Israelite king might be a servant or an instrument of Yahweh, not indeed of the old Yahweh, but of the new and the true. The narrow prophets, therefore, might be of use when all that the people needed was encouragement, but they had no eye for the forces which, under God, were making history. This deficiency unfitted them to represent and communicate a religion adapted to the new age (see Jeremiah section).

But even here we must not exaggerate, nor suppose that the lower prophets were always quite as narrow as 'the prophet Hananiah' referred to in Jer. xxviii. If these

¹ See Introduction to Moses section, and cp. *T. and B.* pp. 32, 61 f.

² *E. Bib.*, 'Prophecy,' §§ 22, 23.

³ *D. and F.* p. 78.

prophets had a recognised social status we are bound to suppose that some of them had considerable culture, and were acquainted with the historical and mythological traditions of Israel. It is highly probable that the Israelites at one time had a store of myths similar to those of the Babylonians, though not nearly as complete or elaborate, relative to the beginning and the ending of cosmic history. It would be natural if prophets who belonged to the patriotic party interested themselves in adapting the fragments of these old myths to present times. They must have known that at the end of the ages mythology placed a general catastrophe ushered in by a succession of plagues,¹ and attended (like the deluge of old) by the well-nigh complete destruction of mankind. It would seem that there were two versions of this catastrophe, one of which limited the number of the survivors to two or three, or perhaps four or five,² and the other expanded it to the whole of the people that worshipped the great God Yahweh. Naturally the patriotic party and its prophets accepted the latter version as alone correct, whereas the greater, *i.e.* the ethical, prophets accused their rivals of putting 'darkness for light, and light for darkness; bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter' (Isa. v. 20). In fact, the patriotic or nationalist prophets expected a day of light and joy, but the prophets like Amos a day of darkness and despair. Is it likely that while the latter devoted their best literary gifts to the description of the day of darkness, some at least of the former did not vie with them by attractive pictures of the day of light? There are, it is true, no monuments left of such roseate predictions. But we may be sure that the same Being who restrained the powers of chaos and disorder of old was expected to come at the end of the ages to destroy all that opposed the divine law, and to settle the elect people (Israel) in its glorified, paradisaical home under a semi-divine king, the Messiah.³ It is tempting to suppose that the descriptions circulated by these prophets

¹ See note on Am. iv. 6-12.

² Isa. xvii. 6. Cp. the variation as to the number of the survivors from the deluge.

³ The Messiah was probably not originally the son of David, but of Yahweh, under his title *Dôd* ('friend'). See *T. and B.* pp. 48 f.

may have been somewhat similar to the two great Messianic outbursts, Isa. ix. 2-8, xi. 1-9.

Gressmann will see that I am indebted for my leading ideas to himself and to Zimmern.¹ I am of opinion, however, that the greater pre-exilic prophets were adverse to the traditional eschatology, and that the work of the higher criticism of the prophets does not require to be undone to suit new views. If Isaiah really wrote Isa. ix. 2-8 and xi. 1-9, he must have forgotten the mission entrusted to him 'in the death-year of King Uzziah,' and violated the rules of a prophetic lifetime. But I can see no hindrance to the theory expressed above that the pre-exilic people of Israel possessed a mythological eschatology. This is a more fully defensible view than that of Paul Volz—that the idea and the hope known to us as the Messianic took their rise in the circles of the patriotic prophets.

But how did this change in the Israelite prophethood arise? Until we can to some extent answer this question the course of Israel's religion will remain an enigma. The first point to be clear about is the origin of the Israelite cultus of Yahweh. It was derived from N. Arabia,² and with it came the cultus of the god Asshur (or Ashhur) and the goddess Asherah (or Ashtart).³ Yahweh was probably differentiated from Yarhamu (= Yerahme'el), and the deity who bore this name showed from the first a more progressive moral tendency than Yerahme'el. The great religious conflict among the Israelites arose out of the question whether Yahweh or Yerahme'el (another of whose names was Ba'al) should be the director and controller of the Elohim or divine triad. The name Yahweh symbolised the progressive purification of popular religious forms, that of Yerahme'el, a lapse into the materially attractive but morally backward or even worthless religious forms of Yerahme'elite N. Arabia. The religious contest was hotly waged, and when Ahab married a princess of Sor or Mişsor⁴ (i.e. the

¹ Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der israel.-jüd. Eschatologie* (1906); Zimmern, *KAT*⁽³⁾, part ii.

² See Moses section. Yahweh (as also doubtless Yerahme'el) was originally a storm god and volcano god (see *T. and B.* p. 30).

³ See *T. and B.* pp. 15 f., 279, 282.

⁴ See Elijah section.

N. Arabian Muşri), it seemed as if the state-religion had become Yerahme'elite. The prophets of Yahweh, however, had too great a hold on the people for this prospect to be realised, and afterwards the usurper Jehu, with the help of the N. Arabian Rekabites, inflicted the severest blow upon Yerahme'elism or Ba'alism that it had yet received. The party of Yahwists was not so weak as has been supposed, and must have attracted many of those who were most worth attracting. The Yahweh who drew them was not a compound of two gods—more Yerahme'elite on the whole than Israelite—but a worthy development of the original Yahweh, of the God who had revealed himself at Horeb or Sinai. Among these men were the narrators known respectively *par excellence* as the Yahwist (J) and the Elohist (E). They were not, indeed, contemporaneous, but both have affinities to the great writer-prophets. Both have produced delicate pictures of living spiritual religion; for J one may refer to the original Joseph story, and for E to the touching narrative of Abraham's interrupted sacrifice of Isaac. From a theological point of view E appears to be more advanced, more refined than J. But J's bold originality makes him of more importance in the present connexion, if it is a fact that he deliberately avoids mentioning sacrifices, and makes patriarchs call upon Yahweh's name as a substitute. This, at any rate, is the view of that ingenious scholar, Dr. B. Luther.¹

I admit that any supposed characteristics of the contributory writers of Genesis must be received with some caution; my own Genesis researches and those of Dr. B. D. Eerdmans have, from different points of view, made it hazardous to rely implicitly on the current analysis of Genesis. Dr. B. Luther's results are, however, plausible, except indeed his theory that 'the Yahwist' was a N. Israelite. This, I confess, appears to me very uncertain. If there was a Yahwist I should say myself that he was most interested in the Israelite portion of the N. Arabian border-land, the region so hotly disputed between the Israelites and the southern Arammities. The Joseph-story is no objection to this, for, as I have shown, the Joseph-tribe originated in that

¹ In an essay in Meyer's *Die Israeliten*, p. 138.

part of the southern border-land which was called Naphtah or Nephtoah.¹ I agree with B. Luther, however, to a certain extent, *i.e.* that the Yahwist was probably a keen reformer in matters of cultus. If so, it is natural to compare him with the prophet Amos (see Amos v. 21-25). Hosea seems to show similar characteristics (see on Hos. vi. 6, viii. 11-14); also Isaiah (Isa. i. 11-13, but cp. Isa. vi. 1) and Jeremiah (Jer. vii. 11 *f.*, 21-23). But I confess that I can hardly believe that the Yahwist was against all sacrifices and all sanctuaries. The idea of sacrifices and of sanctuaries was surely too deeply rooted to be allowed no satisfaction at all. One simple sanctuary, however, and simpler sacrifices would be adequate, nor need we have much doubt where the one sanctuary was. It had been for a time at the southern Shiloh,² and after the destruction of this temple it was on the spot to which on a solemn occasion Abraham and his son repaired, the name of which was probably Asshur-Yarham.³ It is possible that, like Huldah at a later time,⁴ he may have resided in the border-land, and, like the same Huldah, may have devoted himself to opposing the too sensuous religion of the god Yerahme'el. He would have on his side not only some faithful prophets of Yahweh, but also the authors of the earlier of the two legal Decalogues, possibly intended by them for the Israel in the border-land.⁵

On the one hand, then, stood the Yahweh-party, and on the other, the adherents of Yerahme'el or Ba'al. I use the term 'Yahweh-party' advisedly, because there were many Israelites who halted between two opinions, and who, even if they swore by Yahweh, meant by Yahweh much the same as they would have meant by Yerahme'el.⁶ It is a curious fact that in 1 K. xviii. 19 (correct text) we read of four hundred prophets of Ba'al, and in 1 K. xxii. 6 of four hundred prophets of Yahweh. These latter prophets, how-

¹ *T. and B.* p. 470. It may be added that Judah and Reuben were originally N. Arabian tribes (*ibid.* pp. 376, 421).

² See *T. and B.* pp. 502 *f.*

³ Cp. *T. and B.* pp. 327 *f.*; *D. and F.* pp. 27, 115 *f.*, 143. On 1 S. ii. 36, see Samuel section.

⁴ *D. and F.* p. 19.

⁵ For the original form see *D. and F.* p. 102.

⁶ See Elijah section.

ever, are hardly better than prophets of Ba'al. They simply prophesy as they are bidden, and are distinguished from a prophet of the true Yahweh (Micaiah), just as the four hundred prophets of Ba'al are distinguished from Elijah. Which things are an allegory. The cleavage in the prophethood is to be accounted for on this analogy. It arose out of a prior cleavage in the people. The Yahweh of the lower prophets was a mixture of Yahweh and Ba'al. The people who 'put into their mouths' (Mic. iii. 5) worshipped the same Baalised Yahweh as their prophets. On the other hand, the Yahweh of the higher prophets is the God who, in contradistinction to Baal, 'desires mercy and not sacrifice, and the knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings' (Hos. vi. 6). And the small band of disciples of an Amos or an Isaiah is the living testimony to the Master's teaching. Should any one ask, What is the religion of Yahweh? it is enough to refer in reply to the lives of these men (Isa. viii. 16; cp. 1 Cor. ix. 2, 2 Cor. iii. 2). It must have been some one like them, a convinced adherent of the higher prophets and a practised writer, who assigned to the ideal prophet Samuel that noble speech (reminding us of Hos. vi. 6) which places obedience to Yahweh above the choicest animal sacrifices (1 S. xv. 22).

It is to the higher prophets that we must have recourse for the hopes and fears of the Yahweh-party. Alas, that the information that we derive should be so scanty, and, without blame to our informants, so one-sided! It is sad, but true, that the specimens of literature which have come down to us are not only, in Ewald's words, 'as it were a few blossoms from a large tree,'¹ but to a great extent fragments of one variety only of that literature; I mean that most of the extant pre-exilic prophecies have to do with the religious and political peril from N. Arabia. The religious peril was that the old, moral, and, as the event showed, progressive religion of Yahweh might be overpowered by the more attractive, because more sensuous, religion of Yerahme'el.² The priests and prophets who swarmed over the border into Judah and into Israel were so many missionaries of a

¹ *The Prophets*, Eng. transl., i. 86.

² The name was borne both by God and by people.

backward cultus. The political peril was, first, from the king of the southern Aram (upon whom the prophet Amos is so severe), and next, from a more distant and a greater power, the N. Arabian Asshur. It is possible enough that the Yerahme'elite prophets did not confine themselves to exercising a religious influence—possible that they cherished dreams of a federation of kindred peoples against the unsympathetic, ambitious, and despotic Asshur. It is also traditionally reported that the prophets Ahijah and Elisha effected changes of dynasty in Yahweh's name. But the view of Prof. Winckler¹ that the great writing prophets were political agents or agitators,—Amos, for instance, adopting as his program the scheme of a restored kingdom of David and Jeremiah attaching himself to the Chaldean party, seems to me to do injustice to the absorption of these great prophets in God, and to the depths below depths of their self-renunciation. We should never allow ourselves to forget that the true prophet was a God-possessed person, and could speak and act only as such. It was impossible for him to descend to become a political agent. He had no tie save to his God. See Jer. xv. 16 f.

Elijah, as we have seen, was a glorified type of the higher prophets of the reign of Ahab. Those whom he represents were great in action, but not in literature. The prophet who has now to be mentioned had, however, great literary gifts, unless, indeed, we prefer to give the credit of the literary excellence of Amos's prophecies to disciples who may have put their master's utterances into shape. Apparently Hebrew poetry had taken a fresh start in the century before Amos; without this we could not have had the brief but most important book which bears his name. And now as to the author. Was he really, like Elisha, called from country pursuits to be a prophet; and did he, a native of Judæan Tekoa, 'intrude' into the territory of N. Israel to denounce the religious and social system and threaten swift destruction? Had he originally two occupations, and, as a consequence, two residences; and did he, with Elijah-like boldness, communicate his history in full to

¹ Especially in his contribution to Helmolt, *Weltgeschichte*, iii. (1910), pp. 204-206, 210-212. Cp. my *Bible Problems*, p. 260.

the chief priest of the royal sanctuary? Our answer will depend on the view we take of the text of Am. vii. 2-15. The passage will be discussed critically in the Amos section, but the result may be mentioned here, that, like the Elijah of legend, Amos was a native of the Israelite portion of the N. Arabian border-land, that he was a truly inspired, though not professionally trained, spokesman of Yahweh, and that he prophesied against the Israelites of his time and their king, Jeroboam. The latter prophecy was delivered at the *southern* Bethel.¹

No wonder, then, that the mental atmosphere of the prophet is so strikingly N. Arabian; to Amos, as to his people in general, N. Arabia must have been a holy land, full of precious memories of the past. But the Yerahme'elites (*i.e.* the near N. Arabians), among whom the Israelitish settlers dwelt, had a religion unworthy of the common ancestry of the kindred peoples. So Amos devoted himself primarily to the spiritual interests of these settlers, and only in the second place (through his written prophecies) to the Israelites of the north, whom (see on Am. ii. 6) he upbraids with seeking priests in Kashram and prophets in Arabia of Ishmael. His message was intellectually conservative; he had no new tenet to ventilate. The grand and holy doctrine of monotheism, which is implied in iii. 2 (if rightly rendered by most scholars) and in iv. 13 and the parallels (if by our prophet), does not appear in the undoubted preaching of Amos. But this one thing he did preach in season and out of season—that Israel's sole divine helper was Yahweh, and that God's protection was conditional on moral obedience to his will, precisely what the N. Arabian priests and prophets neglected to emphasise. It is true he had no hope that Israel would listen to him. The favour of Yerahme'el (who, after all, was one of the early deities of Israel, no less than Yahweh) could be bought so easily by abundant sacrifices, and the usages of the popular N. Arabian sanctuaries were such seductive objects of pilgrimage. He could but reiterate the claims of Yahweh, denounce the pernicious sanctuaries (Am. iii. 14, iv. 4, v. 5, viii. 14, ix. 1), attack the Israelites, especially the

¹ See on Am. iv. 4, v. 5, vii. 10, Hos. xii. 4 *f.*

rich, for their neglect of the primal duties, and threaten both sections of the people (?) with the hard fate of deportation to the remote and little known region 'beyond Ramshaḵ' (v. 27). Ramshaḵ appears to have been on the border of the southern Aram. But what does 'beyond Ramshaḵ' mean? In Am. iii. 9 Asshur and Mišrim are introduced as specially interested in the Israelites. Presumably it is the first of these, *i.e.* the more distant N. Arabian Asshur, which is referred to. Shortly afterwards (iii. 12, see p. 181) the completeness of the ruin of the Israelite Ramshaḵ is described. It may perhaps be suggested by the popular mythology. As a rule, the early prophets seem to avoid the popular mythology, and even the heroic and patriarchal saga.¹ But Amos guards his meaning well from being mistaken. The people in general assumed that in the 'day of Yahweh' Israel would escape. The event would soon disillusion them.

It is the moral element in religion which has an overpowering interest for Amos. The prophet Hosea cares no less for morality, but he has a clearer perception of the conditions of its growth. He understands that without love to Yahweh there can be no hope of that persistent obedience which is morality. He is not afraid of adopting the popular idea of a marriage between God and the land or people. The married life of man and woman is a training in love and faithfulness, and is a true image of the kind of intercourse which should exist between Yahweh and Israel. It is plain, however, that Israel has broken the bond, and the indwelling God assures Hosea that Israel is no longer Yahweh's wife, nor has he any longer a yearning over the Israelites (ii. 4, 6). One of the later supplementers was pained by this representation. To him it seemed to ignore the comforting prospect of the reunion and reconciliation of Israel and Yahweh; hence the interesting but not Hosean appendix (ii. 15 *b*-25). Another scribe conceived the idea that the account of the prophet's marriage (i. 2 *f*.) must be closely connected with the figurative discourse in ii. 4-15 *a*. It must, in short, be allegorical. Under the obsession of this idea he misread i. 2 *a*, and inserted v. 2 *b*, so that Hosea is represented as being

¹ Hos. xii. 4 *f*. (see note) is an exception.

divinely commanded to perform an unusual act. And to him, or to some other, is due chap. iii. which presupposes the allegorical character of chap. i. (see Hosea section).

In fact the records of Hosea have undergone much interpolation. Consequently we cannot safely accept the traditional view of him as a sort of 'Johannine' nature, full of love and sympathy, and mitigating his half-reluctant announcements of judgment by happy assurances of future reconciliation. No; Hosea may suffer more than Amos, but he is not less whole-hearted in his threatenings. Perish Israel, rather than that the law of righteousness should abate one jot of its claim!¹ Into the secrets of the future these prophets did not seek to enter. From a mythological point of view it would have been easy to make forecasts. Noah and his three sons restored mankind; how natural that even the few Israelites rescued from the mouth of the lion (Am. iii. 12) should become the fathers of a new and better Israel! Nor, to a believer, was even a single rescued family (Ex. xxxii. 10, Moses) necessary, for 'God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham'² (Matt. iii. 9). But such speculations lay beyond the scope of the higher prophets, whose burden was distinctly not eschatological or apocalyptic.

The prophets of whom I speak are, in fact, much more inclined to look backward than forward. 'Did ye offer unto me sacrifices in the wilderness?' says Yahweh by the mouth of Amos (v. 25), implying that the ideal to aim at and even (if there be a good will) to reach is in the past. Similarly according to Hosea (ix. 10), 'Like grapes in the wilderness I found Israel,' and again (xi. 1), 'When Israel was a child I loved him.' But just because the prophets are, of necessity, such idealists, they can see no bright spots in the Israel of the present. Hosea says (iv. 1):

Hear the word of Yahweh, O benê Israel,
For Yahweh hath a strife with the dwellers in the land,
Because there is no faithfulness and no loving-kindness,
And no knowledge of God in the land.

¹ *E. Bib.*, 'Amos,' § 17; 'Hosea,' § 8.

² For the mythological origin of this phrase, see *T. and B.* pp.

And whence comes this immorality? Two reasons are given: (1) the neglect of the priests to instruct the people in the true knowledge of God (see vi. 6), and (2) the addiction of the people (encouraged by their selfish guides) to an immoral cultus, in which Yahweh is fused with Ba'al or Yerahme'el. This is evidently Hosea's real meaning; it has, however, been sadly obscured by corruption, as the reader may convince himself by comparing the A.V. of the uncorrected text with the results gained by methodical and thoroughly critical emendation. The consequence is that the national life has become rotten at its core. Indeed, Israel itself, we are told in v. 13, has perceived this, and has just now sent an embassy to 'Asshur' (cp. vii. 11, viii. 5, 9), otherwise called (in the parallel line) 'the king of Arabia,' or, 'of Yerahme'el.' But how could any external material aid make good the internal decay?

Let us not be in a hurry to reject the inevitable theory of a N. Arabian Asshur. The most 'impossible' things are often true, nor does this theory involve the denial of any established fact, such as the payment of tribute by Menahem in 738 to the Assyrian king, Tiglath-pileser III. The truth is that among the extant fragments of Hosea's discourses we cannot point to any sure reference to Assyria, whereas we are compelled to recognise a number of clear references to the N. Arabian Asshur or Ashhur. For instance, let me cite the neighbouring verse v. 11:

Ephraim is oppressed, crushed in respect of his right,
Because he journeyed to Asshur-Şib'on.¹

I may also venture to quote some other passages in their corrected form (sometimes Asshur, sometimes Ashhur):

I abhor thy calf, O Shimron,
My wrath is kindled against it;
[To] Arabia of Ishmael shall it be carried,
A present to the king of Ashhur (viii. 5).

For as for them, they have gone up to Asshur;
In Arabia of Yerahme'el they have humbled themselves
(viii. 9).

¹ We can therefore dispense with the moon-god. See note.

They call to Mišrim,
They journey to Asshur (vii. 11).

They contract a covenant with Asshur,
And oil is carried into Mišrim (xii. 2).

Ephraim shall return to Mišrim,
And they shall eat unclean things in Asshur (ix. 3).

He shall return to the land of Mišrim,
And Asshur shall be his king (xi. 5).

For, lo! they journey to Kashram,
Mišrim gives them burial;
Of their precious things Kashram takes possession,
Ashhur is in her palaces (ix. 6).

In Ashhur is cut off
The king of Israel (x. 15).

Reference to the Hosea section will clear up any obscurity in these passages, *e.g.* 'Kashram,' the very word which is so often misread as Kasdim.¹ So much, however, should be evident, that the Asshur and the Mišrim which are so frequently mentioned, generally in parallel lines, in Hosea must be the countries which lie close together, and are situated in N. Arabia.² Some at least of the gloss-makers preserved the tradition of this. Thus, in v. 11, 'Asshur-Šib'on' (such was the original reading) receives the gloss 'Yerahme'el,' *i.e.* N. Arabia; in x. 4, xii. 12, we find the gloss 'to Ishmael of Kashram,' and in xii. 8 the gloss 'with regard to Ashhur-Ah'ab,' implying that the 'Canaan' referred to was in N. Arabia—the Ephraimites (Israelites) were no better than the fraudulent merchants of this N. Arabian Canaan.

The Israelites, then—*i.e.* as many as the conquerors chose—were to be deported to a distant part of N. Arabia. The prophets do not, as a rule, lament, like Homeric heroes, over the inevitable; if their people have imbibed the poisonous religious influences of Yerahme'el, they have

¹ See on viii. 10.

² Alt (*Israel und Ägypten*, p. 51) recognises the problem, but can hardly be said to have solved it.

but themselves to blame. As Hosea says—supplementing Israel's other transgressions :

And now they sin still further,
They have made for themselves molten images ;
They use augury like the Ishmaelites,
They observe omens like the Ashhurites (xiii. 2).

What a contrast to the idealism of the newly converted diviner — Balaam !¹ But Isaiah, as we shall see, fully confirms Hosea's statement. Alas ! the augurs and omen-watchers could not make up for the paucity of true prophets. Such messengers of the true Yahweh came forward indeed, but the members of the nationalist party (pp. 15-18), both in Israel and in Judah, did their best to suppress them² (Isa. xxx. 10 *f.*, Mic. ii. 6). And so the cultus, and all the immorality that this implied, went forward merrily, and all the members of the divine Company³ were duly honoured, but the true Yahweh was ignored and his prophets silenced. Was, then, Hosea also silenced ? We know not, but we are sure that, whatever happened, he never softened his tone or assumed the rôle of the comforter. He thus proved himself to stand in the direct line of all the great pre-exilic prophets (cp. Jer. xxviii. 8).

III

Isaiah is like a synthesis of Amos and Hosea. His gifts, moral and intellectual, place him, probably, at the head of the earlier prophets, but we must not credit him with an almost miraculous versatility like Ewald, or with a profound insight into the capacities of mythological representations like Gressmann. Would that we had a more complete record of his ministry ! Connected, as he

¹ In Am. v. 2 *f.*, however, Amos gives a brief *kînah*, or dirge, on 'the virgin Israel,' and in Isa. i. 21 Isaiah gives one on Jerusalem.

² Am. ii. 12 is an interpolation (see note), and is therefore not cited here.

³ In Hos. iv. 11 (restored text), which, if not Hosea's work, comes at any rate from an early and well-informed scribe, Šib'onith (*i.e.* Ashtart), Yaman (*i.e.* Ishmael or Yerahme'el), and Ashtar (= Asshur) are mentioned. See note.

seems to have been, with the upper class, we find it difficult to believe that the existing record contains nothing about the Assyrian peril, and little or nothing about the fall of the northern kingdom. Yet this seems to be the case. Whatever Isaiah may have written (or have caused to be written) about the Assyrian peril for Israel and Judah has perished. He was not, so far as one can ascertain, a resident in the N. Arabian border-land, but belonged to the capital of Judah. Several biographical passages,¹ which have found a place in the collections of prophecies (apart from the work of later hagiographers in chaps. xxxvii.-xxxix.), fully bear this out. One of these is the magnificent inaugural vision, the scene of which is in the Jerusalem temple, and which contains no reference to the southern border-land, possibly because the details of the great punishment seemed out of place in the account of the prophet's solemn consecration. And yet, both in the collection to which chap. vi. serves as a preface, and in the two earlier collections (ii.-iv. and v.), there is express reference both to the religious and to the political peril from N. Arabia, whereas even probable references to Assyria are conspicuous by their absence.

Take, for instance, the (composite) prophetic poem in ii. 6-22. At the very outset we are told (see on *v.* 6, and cp. on Hos. xiii. 2) that the 'house of Jacob' is culpably addicted to Yerahme'elite² divination, and though the political peril from N. Arabia is obscured by eschatological anticipations, yet it is quite plain that up to the dawning of the Day of Yahweh (*vv.* 12 *ff.*) the 'castles of Ashtar' and the 'mansions of Yarham' (*v.* 16) will continue to represent to Isaiah and his countrymen a powerful and dangerous enemy. Or take the earliest of Isaiah's plainer discourses, iii. 1-15, on the ruin of Judah and its causes. The name or origin of the foreign invader is not mentioned in the received text, but the probability is that in the original text of *v.* 4, those who would be the rulers of Jerusalem after the collapse of the state were represented as Shinarites: Shinar,

¹ Chaps. vi., vii. 1-viii. 18, xx.

² I do not feel bound always to use the popular corrupt forms of Yerahme'el which the text, when duly criticised, reveals.

as has been shown, is not Babylonia, but some part—doubtless a distant part—of N. Arabia. Isaiah, then, already expects a Shinarite or Asshurite invasion of Judah. He also puts his finger on a weak spot in the existing social system, viz. the occupation of many important positions, not indeed by Shinarites, but by natives of the nearer N. Arabia. Among the stays and props of society which Yahweh (*i.e.* the invader) will remove, beside good old Israelite class-names, such as warrior, judge, prophet, elder, are others of N. Arabian reference, such as ‘captain of the Ramshaḥites’¹ and ‘wise men of Ḥashram,’² each with an explanatory gloss. Thus, both for the defence of the capital and for contact with the supernatural, the Judaites were dependent on N. Arabians. How dangerous N. Arabian divination was to true Yahweh-worship we have seen already. And what a political peril lay in the influential positions held by Yerahme’elites (*e.g.* Shebna, xxii. 15-19), does not require proving, though, should any one deny it, there is a passage, not far off, ready to confute him, for iii. 12 *a* should no doubt run thus:

As for my people, Yerahme’el is its tyrant,
And those of Ishman (Ishmael) rule over it.

It was almost as if Judah had been annexed to one of the N. Arabian kingdoms. There may, indeed, have been a party which politically was opposed to the Yerahme’elites; at any rate, in xxxvi. 3 (2 K. xviii. 18), only one of the three high officers (Shebna) is certainly a N. Arabian. But even if Isaiah exaggerates, Jerusalem must have been in as deplorable a state through the tyrannical foreign place-holders as the country people were through land-hungry rich men of their own people (*v.* 8; cp. Mic. ii. 2).

In chap. v. we get a very distinct prophecy of national extinction and deportation to a foreign land (*vv.* 13 *f.*):

Therefore my people go into exile unawares,
And their honoured ones are sapless from hunger, and their
noisy throng parched with thirst,

¹ The warriors—probably mercenaries—here referred to must have come from the district of Ramshaḥ, on the border of the southern Aram.

² See *D. and F.* pp. 58, 63, 94.

Therefore Sheol gapes ravenously, and opens the mouth to the widest ;

And the splendour of Zion, and her busy throng, and all who are joyous within her, plunge headlong into it.¹

The blame is put down by Isaiah to the unjust and avaricious rulers ; this prophet has less to say about the errors of the people at large than Hosea. Of course, the foreign place-holders (like Shebna) will share the fate of their Israelite colleagues. The conqueror is probably named in the true text of v. 18 *a*, but most certainly in a somewhat later prophecy, where Isaiah expressly addresses the 'rod of God's anger' as Asshur (x. 5), *i.e.* king of Asshur, and where an intrusive gloss, due to some early scribe, explains that the Asshur intended is 'in Yarham,' *i.e.* in N. Arabia. The passage (x. 5-15) is not very easy, being made up of fragments of Isaiah's work loosely strung together by the redactor. One must therefore be allowed a little rearrangement and a reasonable amount of supplementing. It is, for instance, at least plausible, following Duhm, to connect *vv.* 13 *f.* (omitting the redactor's 'for he saith') with v. 7 *a*. In reality Asshur is but Yahweh's agent or instrument, but Asshur himself thinks quite otherwise ; his own brain it was that devised the plan of annexing all these kingdoms, and his mighty hand that executed it. As for his being Yahweh's agent, limited by the commission that he has received, not such are his own imaginings. Not merely to punish 'impious' nations, but to extinguish nationalities is his aim. Who should resist him, seeing that each of his captains has the power and might of a king ? And what god can stay his victorious march, seeing that one strong city after another, in spite of its gods, has fallen into his hands ? This is the Asshur against which Isaiah pronounces a solemn 'woe.' And in what does the 'woe' verify itself ? Is Asshur to fall, just as he almost has Jerusalem within his grasp ? This is not Isaiah's usual anticipation, and it seems that v. 12 (which pronounces the doom of Asshur) belongs to the redactor. Still, we cannot avoid the conclusion that, when Isaiah wrote these

¹ See my *Isaiah* in the *Polychrome Bible*, edited by Haupt.

prophetic fragments, he did expect a judgment upon Israel's foe. This does not, however, imply the escape of Judah.¹ It would not be hard for Yahweh to find a fresh 'rod of his wrath,' a fitter 'staff of his indignation.'

The last on the list of Asshur's conquered cities is Shōmērōn or (better) Shimrōn. We learn from Isa. xxviii. 1-4 (critical text) that this city was in N. Arabia, for it is not probable that there was any other N. Arabian city which excited Isaiah's interest in an equal degree. It now becomes clear that the redactor of x. 5-15 must have manipulated almost all the place-names in vv. 9 *f.* to suit his prejudice that the reference was to the conquests of Assyrian kings. Really, however, Isaiah refers to an expected march of the N. Arabian Asshurite king, by which, to use Isaiah's words (v. 13), he would 'bring down the glory of the Ishbalites.'² The conqueror is described in vivid terms in v. 26-30, a passage which is really the misplaced closing stanza of a fine prophetic poem on the troubles which are to come upon the Israelites before the great general catastrophe (ix. 7-x. 4). It represents the invader as 'a far-off nation,' coming from 'the end of the land'³; as altogether perfect in its equipment; as having the swiftest horses and chariots, and a battle-cry which is like a lion's roar. This is exactly the description given in Jeremiah (iv. 6 *f.*, 13, vi. 22 *f.*) of the warriors from the land of Ṣaphon, whose approach will throw the Judaites into consternation. We cannot doubt that all through the period of pre-exilic written prophecy the same foe looms on the prophetic horizon, whether he is said to come from Ṣaphon (as in Jeremiah and Zephaniah), from Ḥashram or Kashram (as in Hosea and Habakkuk), or from Asshur or Ashḥur (as in Hosea and Isaiah). Naturally, the first to

¹ Staerk (*Ass. Weltreich*, p. 90) also remarks that the doom of Asshur (*i.e.* according to him, Assyria) stands in no historical connexion with Judah and Jerusalem.

² *I.e.* Ishmaelites. Cp. v. 10, 'As my hand has grasped the kingdoms of Yerahme'el' (see note).

³ 'The land' means the region occupied by the descendants of Abraham (Gen. xii. 3, xxii. 18, Isa. xli. 9), or, more definitely, by Israel and Yerahme'el or Ishmael. So in Jer. vi. 22 (end) we ought to render 'from the recesses of the land.'

be prostrated by a wild terror are the peoples of the N. Arabian border-land. Jeremiah has expressed this very forcibly, but so also has Isaiah, or at any rate some writer whose work (Isa. x. 28-32) has been incorporated into a composite Isaianic prophecy. And certainly it is Isaiah who is responsible for striking passages to which the received text does much less than justice, viz. Isa. viii. 14 and x. 4 *a*,¹ which I will venture to quote in a corrected form :

- (a) And he shall be to Ramshaḵ² a stone to strike against,
A rock of stumbling to the house of Ishmael,
A trap and a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem.
- (b) Ishmael boweth, Asshur³ is broken down,
Ḥadad and Hagrim⁴ fall.

The sight of the burning townships of the border-land ought surely to make the Judaïtes uneasy for themselves. And it does so, for those words of x. 32 about the enemy 'shaking his hand' against Jerusalem must embody the spoken or unspoken thoughts of many besides the prophet. One remedy indeed there was, or seemed to be—an alliance between Judah, who, by annexing the N. Arabian territory that had been Israel's, had become a N. Arabian power, and the chief of those long-established Yerahme'elite kingdoms (Isa. x. 10) which the Asshurite king sought to break up. The prophecies of Isaiah which deal with this alliance are among the most interesting in the whole collection for the view which they give of the state of society, of politics, and of religion. The prophet is vehemently opposed to a Miṣrite alliance, and is sure that nothing can now prevent a second⁵ Asshurite siege of Jerusalem. It is probable that part of i. 2-26, which as a whole represents no single period,

¹ The passage in which Lagarde finds Beltis and Osiris. See note.

² *I.e.* Aram-Ashḥur. See p. 148.

³ Here, as often, Asshur has a narrower but still N. Arabian reference.

⁴ *I.e.* the Hagrites, the reputed sons of Hagar.

⁵ Jerusalem is the city against which (see on xxix. 1 *f.*) Asshur has encamped already in the past, and will encamp again in the near future.

describes retrospectively the desolation wrought by an Asshurite¹ invasion (i. 7 *f.*). There is no prophetic record, however, of a siege and capture of Jerusalem as an event of the past. According to i. 24 *b*, the captivity and deportation of the wicked rulers of Jerusalem is still future, and according to xxii. 1-14 the unpardonable sin of the inhabitants is their unchastened demeanour at the withdrawal of the besieging forces. That this withdrawal is only temporary the people of Jerusalem themselves know only too well (*v.* 13 *b*, 'to-morrow we die').

But to return to the religious peril. I have only as yet referred to the prevalence of N. Arabian divination proved by the earliest of the prophecies (ii. 6-22). That offence was certainly bad enough; the conflict between prophecy and divination corresponded in some degree to the conflict between Yahweh and Ba'al or Yerahme'el. For though the latter god had his prophets as well as Yahweh, these prophets were of an inferior type, and besides, the priests of Ba'al were also diviners²; in other words, Ba'al's priests, no less than his prophets, were of an inferior class. Under these conditions moral and religious progress was impossible. The same prophecy of Isaiah which mentions divination also refers to idols, or other symbols of deity, as everywhere to be seen, and as fabricated to meet a newly arisen demand, in contradistinction to those of olden time, which were few and rarely made. Hosea is also very strongly opposed to their use; so before him were the promulgators of the first and second decalogues.³ The prophets plainly mean to say that their misguided countrymen worship those images,⁴ a controversial expedient which we must not allow ourselves to defend.⁵ The name used for them suggests

¹ This is stated in a gloss which underlies the closing words of i. 8 (see note).

² This was genuinely Arabian. Note that in ii. 6 *kemārim* and 'ōnenim are parallel (see note).

³ 'Thou shalt make for thyself no molten gods,' and 'Thou shalt make for thyself no graven image' (*D. and F.* pp. 102 *f.*).

⁴ Cp. Hos. ii. 10, viii. 5 *f.*, xi. 2, xiii. 2.

⁵ If this is correct, it implies a wonderful swiftness of development. It is sad, as Tennyson's friend, A. H. Hallam, says, that 'we possess no monuments of the religion of the ancients.' This is at any rate largely true with regard to ancient Semitic religion.

that they were chiefly symbols or images of the god Yerahme'el (see on Isa. ii. 8); we also hear of manufactured Asherahs and Hammāns. Hammān is probably also a term for Yerahme'el, but was applied to a different form of symbol. Unfortunately Isa. xvii. 7 *f.* is an interpolation; Asherah and Hammān are not mentioned in the certainly genuine portions of Isaiah.

One would be glad to have been told more, even if only by allusions, of the rites which went on in Judah in the shady recesses of groves (cp. Isa. lvii. 5, lxv. 3, lxvi. 17). At any rate, for those who worshipped other gods than Yahweh under sacred trees a terrible fate is announced (i. 29-31), and the true text (probably) tells us that the tree cultus came from N. Arabia.¹ There is also a most interesting passage (xvii. 10 *f.*, see note) which appears to presuppose Yerahme'el rites connected with vines.

Nor was N. Arabian influence confined to the religion of the upper world. The prophet gives us some scraps of information respecting what may be called the religion of the underworld. In xxix. 1-4 (see note) Jerusalem is called by a new enigmatical name which should most probably be read Arâl. Arâlu is one of the Babylonian names for the world of the dead, and I have ventured to conjecture that it is a short and corrupt form of the N. Arabian divine name Yerahme'el, carried far to the north, with Adad (= Yahweh?), Ashtar, Asherah (Ashratu), and other names, in an early Arabian migration. I have also brought forward evidence to suggest that Yerahme'el was the N. Arabian and popular Semitic Pluto, and shown that it was probably by means of images of Yerahme'el and his consort that necromancers undertook to consult the spirit of a deceased person.² Of course powerful spells had to be used, and in these spells the first names to be involved would be those, not of deceased human beings, but of the lord and lady of the underworld. In Isa. viii. 19—a passage which may be based on a fragment of Isaiah's work, though in its present form redactional—Isaiah may refer to the practice of necromancy, and if so, we cannot doubt that he blamed it. For Yahweh claimed to be the determining influence in all departments of life.

¹ See on i. 31.

² *D. and F.* pp. 124 *ff.*

Also from xxviii. 15 we learn that the rulers of Jerusalem had made 'a covenant with Death,' and 'a contract with Sheol,' to avert any trouble or misfortune; here again there can be no doubt. The powers of the underworld were involved and propitiated because their realm was a storehouse of misfortune (cf. Hos. xiii. 14).

Only one more evidence of the religious peril need be given: it is the stress laid by the rulers of the capital on costly and abundant sacrifices and on the observance of holy days (Isa. i. 11-15; cp. Mic. vi. 6-8). A religion of forms and ceremonies was as hateful to Isaiah as it was to Amos and Hosea (p. 20). The only ritual pleasing to Yahweh was the performance of primary civic duties. Thus to Isaiah, the city-dweller, Yahweh is the God of the city; Judah, to him, *is* Jerusalem.

I have been fuller in my account of Isaiah because of the pre-eminent position so long accorded to him. Questions of dates, which are specially important in his case, I have not entered into, because there are still more important though generally neglected preliminary questions. I shall have something to say, however, on the chronological question before I lay down my pen in connexion with some recent works on the subject. It will require some courage to be original, but those who know what a severe mistress Truth is will not let loose a thoughtless charge of instability.

The country prophet Micah is sometimes compared unfavourably with the city prophet Isaiah. Certainly his speech is rougher and less polished than his great contemporary's, but there must have been, both at Jerusalem and elsewhere, some prophets who, though sharing Isaiah's spiritual insight, and like him dependent on a great literary tradition, were much less masters of literary form and imaginative power. It is a very small book which remains when the later insertions have been removed, but very possibly it represents only a part of Micah's ministry, and sums up the discourses which he delivered on various occasions. We can well believe that such an earnest, eager, insistent man travelled, and knew not only the provincial city where he was born, but the capital and other places.

The climax, however, of his prophetic utterances was certainly reached at Jerusalem under Hezekiah (Jer. xxvi. 18).

It is plain that Micah was fully aware of both the N. Arabian perils—the religious and the political. His first reported words (i. 5 *b*) are :

What is the transgression of Jacob? Is it not Shimron?
What is the sin of the house of Judah? Is it not Ishmael?

N. Arabia, represented by the names Shimron and Ishmael, is, according to him, the source of the unpardonable sin of Jacob—Israel and Judah. It is primarily the immoral cult of the Mother-goddess Ashtart,¹ specially practised at Shimron (Amos viii. 14),² which is referred to. How opposed Jeremiah³ and the writers of Deuteronomy⁴ were to this we know, and now at an earlier time comes Micah, an equally resolute champion of the true Yahweh, who has no consort or companion, and who is far above any *elohim* or *benê elohim* that there may be.⁵ It is true, another writer, probably of later date, speaks of Lakish as 'the beginning of sin for Zion' (Mic. i. 13), but may we not presume that the sanctuary of Lakish was closely related to some prominent N. Arabian temple?

No other prophet puts the sad state of things quite so plainly as Micah if the above view of i. 5 *b* is correct. He does not, indeed, directly mention either Ba'al (Yerahme'el or Ashtar) or even Ashtart, who, owing to the influence of the women, was the most popular of the N. Arabian deities. But if there existed a fuller record of the prophecies of Micah, we should doubtless have proofs enough of the prophet's repugnance to both cults—that of Baal and that of Ashtart. Formally Baal must have taken the precedence, and in the idealised, virile qualities of the great

¹ In Canaan and (apparently) N. Arabia the masc. form Ashtar was less common than the fem. form Ashtart; in Babylonia a masc. form (Ishtar) was predominant, even when a goddess was meant. Ashratu, in Babylonia, was the consort of Adad. See Langdon in the *Expositor*, Aug. 1910, p. 136, and (on Asher, the presumed consort of Asherah) see my *Traditions and Beliefs*, Index.

² See note, and *T. and B.* p. 18, n. 3.

³ *D. and F.* p. 33.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 119-123.

⁵ *T. and B.* pp. 16 f.

god Baal, the men at least probably placed their chief hope. Micah, therefore, cannot have omitted to fight against Baal.

Like Amos and all the great prophets he had a passion for the primal duties, and could not help accentuating the moral degradation which was partly at least the effect of N. Arabian religion. A worshipper of Yahweh—of the true Yahweh—would necessarily cultivate lovingkindness or practical sympathy (חֶסֶד) towards his poorer brethren. Such an one would not think that sacrifices bound the Deity to take his side and to condone violations of mere moral precepts. But every day Micah saw the exploitation of the poor by the rich and the ruthless appropriation of their small holdings. This inhumanity was, to Micah as well as to Isaiah, a sin of the first magnitude. But there is one form of it which is mentioned by Micah alone (Mic. ii. 8). It is that avaricious Judaite nobles combined with N. Arabians to raid Israelite territory. It was partly a slave-hunting raid, and involved the separation of mothers and children. That Micah's indignation was kindled no appreciative reader of the prophets can wonder,¹ nor yet that the prophet threatened these heartless nobles, just as he will presently threaten the unjust judges, the priests, and the prophets, with captivity.

This, then, is the political peril from N. Arabia—captivity and deportation for the ruling classes, not, that is, for the peasantry. And as if to prevent any possible doubt, a most incisive address to the responsible leaders of society is followed by this bold declaration of doom (iii. 12):

Therefore because of *you*
Zion shall be ploughed up as the open country,
Jerusalem shall become heaps,
And the temple-mountain a wooded height.

We may note here, that to this provincial prophet, not less than to the city-prophet Isaiah, Judah *is* Jerusalem. In fact, not only was Jerusalem the centre of the social system, but the royal sanctuary which it contained was the outward and

¹ See Micah section.

visible sign of the existence of the nation. The destruction of the temple meant the reduction to impotence of the national God. But who is the Great Destroyer who is to fulfil Yahweh's oracles? Was the political peril in Micah's judgment also from N. Arabia? It is true, none of the usual names for the great N. Arabian power can be found in the genuine work of Micah. Nevertheless it is clear enough that the Destroyer is the N. Arabian Asshur. And this on two grounds: 1. That Isaiah—Micah's contemporary—expressly mentions the Yarhamite¹ Asshur as the divine instrument of judgment on the nations (Isa. x. 5 *f.*); and 2. That whoever redacted the present Book of Micah considered the Great Destroyer to be this same Asshur, for he has incorporated one passage which states this as a fact (Mic. v. 4), and another which declares (Mic. i. 15) that the 'glory (*i.e.* the leading men) of Israel' shall go (*i.e.* shall be deported) to Armel (*i.e.* to some distant part of Yerahme'el).²

Ample recognition is accorded to Micah's fearless freedom of speech in a striking episode of the life of Jeremiah (Jer. xxvi. 18 *f.*). He was, however, fully conscious of this parrhesia himself, and a later scribe, fearing that the prophet might seem vainglorious, inserted the words 'with (the help of) Yahweh's Spirit.' Micah's own words, however, (iii. 8) are as follows:

But as for me, I am full of power,
And of justice and of might,
To declare to Jacob his transgression,
And to Israel his sin.

It would be pleasing to believe that chaps. iv.-vii. were Micah's own supplement to his undoubted discourses in chaps. i.-iii. If we could even rescue for him the miniature painting of eschatological bliss in iv. 1 *ff.*, it would satisfy one's conservative instincts.³ Even this, however, is impossible. Apart from the fact that in a mutilated form the passage occurs again in Isa. ii. 2-4, and that Isaiah could not possibly have copied from Micah, we may appeal

¹ *I.e.* N. Arabian.

² See Micah section.

³ Cp. Staerk, *Ass. Weltraich*, p. 131.

to Micah himself (Mic. iii. 8, above) against the view that pre-exilic prophets blunted the edge of their denunciations by appending pictures of restored Paradise. The picture in Mic. iii., like all of its kind, is most interesting, and so is much besides in cc. iv.-vii., on parts of which I have (in the Micah section) endeavoured to throw some fresh light. So much by way of justification of my procedure. I am not now writing a commentary, but offering some contributions to the history of prophecy, and many new explanations of details.

Some fresh light is certainly much wanted for the next prophet Nahum. The prevalent identification of No-Amon with the Egyptian Thebes having failed,¹ we have to look out for some other data, with a view to determining at least the historical horizon of this mysterious prophet. It was a comparatively early opinion that the great but sinful enemy spoken of was N. Arabian. For ii. 1 (part of an inserted passage) should read thus :

Behold on the mountains the feet of the joyful messenger,
 | who announces peace ;
 O Judah, keep thy feasts, | perform thy vows,
 For no more shall Yarba'al pass through thee, | he is
 consumed, cut off.

Now Yarba'al (= Yerubba'al) is a popular corruption of Yerahme'el, and the greatest Yerahme'elite or N. Arabian power was Asshur or Ashhur. Nor does Nahum omit to give us hints, as indeed might be expected from his racial origin, for he is called (according to the right text of the heading), 'Nahum the Ashkalite.'² Not only in that obscure passage, ii. 4, are N. Arabian ethnics to be found underlying corrupt words, but underneath the familiar but here unsuitable 'Nineveh' we may most probably discover 'Yewanah' (the feminine of the well-established 'Yāwān').³ This was presumably a chief city of Asshur, as indeed is suggested by the pointed address to the 'king of Asshur' (iii. 18); even if this is but a gloss it has the value of

¹ See Nahum section.

² Ashkal = Ashhur-Yerahme'el (*i.e.* N. Arabia).

³ *T. and B.* pp. 160 *f.*

an early commentary on the text. It is unfortunate that 'No-Amon'—so long supposed to contain the clue to the chronological problem—should still wait for a full explanation; 'Amon,' however, may reasonably be read 'Armon,' *i.e.* 'Yerahme'el.' See Nahum section.

It is therefore practically certain that Nahum too was affected by an inherited and ever-present dread of the great N. Arabian power; how, indeed, could it have been otherwise seeing that he was himself by extraction and probably by residence a N. Arabian, though none the less an Israelite? The question, however, still remains, whether he was equally conscious of the harm done to Israelite religion by the N. Arabian cults of Baal and Ashtart. So far as the evidence goes he was not; his interest was absorbed in the political prospects. He may therefore have been a nationalist prophet. Only we must not speak too positively, seeing that the original introduction to the Book of Nahum has been lost.

In short, our present Nahum, as no one now denies, has a composite character. The opening consists of an imperfect alphabetical psalm on Yahweh as a god of vengeance (i. 2-10), prefixed by the redactor. Then follows an inspiring piece on the consequences of the divine intervention for Judah and Israel (i. 12 *f.*, ii. 1, 3). This passage presupposes the N. Arabian captivity—a captivity hardly less certain than the Babylonian,¹ and must be included in the Deutero-Isaianic literature. And then comes Nahum's own magnificent work, clearly not designed to be heard, but to be read. The text is at many points very doubtful (see Nahum section).

Nahum, then, may have been a patriotic prophet. Is there any other literary prophet of whom it can be said? The only chance is that it may perhaps apply to Habakkuk. The question depends on the view that we take of Hab. ii. 1-4. If the distich which forms *v.* 4 is to be taken as the expression of a great moral principle, we can hardly ascribe it to one of the nationalist prophets, who appear to have been mere moral conventionalists. But suppose, 1, that a more correct text of ii. 1-4 contains the name of a

¹ *D. and F.* pp. 59, 67, 84, 89.

definite foe; 2, that that foe was specially dangerous in the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah (when Hananiah had his struggle with Jeremiah); 3, that 'righteous' is merely a complimentary name for Israel, and 'faithfulness,' for adhesion to a set of religious conventions, it may be plausible to ascribe this passage to a spiritual kinsman of Hananiah. The first thing, therefore, is to find out whether or no in ii. 1-4 any definite foe is referred to, and the result of my own inquiries is that the foe is expressly mentioned, and that his name is Yerahme'el, *i.e.* N. Arabia. The prophet is divinely assured that this foe will be 'broken,' and will not save his 'soul,' whereas righteous Israel 'shall live on by his faithfulness.' An optimistic conviction, truly, and since the great N. Arabian power was certainly dangerous early in Zedekiah's reign, it may at first sight appear obvious to regard Habakkuk as a nationalistic prophet.

On the other hand, let it be considered: 1, that both in the prophetic books and in the Lamentations and Psalms there is evidence that the Yerahme'elites were represented in post-exilic times as the tyrants and oppressors of Yahweh's people.¹ Of course, the use of this ethnic for N. Arabians is archaistic. Possibly, too, writers may have continued to refer to the N. Arabian oppression even after it had ceased simply for the sake of literary consistency. It is therefore quite a natural supposition that the little passage before us (Hab. ii. 1-4) may be post-exilic in spite of its reference to Yerahme'elite tyranny. We may note, 2, that post-exilic psalms very frequently speak of Israel as 'righteous' and of its oppressors as 'wicked,' and with more reason, surely, than pre-exilic prophets of the type of Hananiah. And, 3, that the psalmists, speaking in the name of Israel, and as it were in the presence-chamber of God, feel at liberty to insert the divine responses to Israel's prayers (see *e.g.* Ps. lxxv, lxxxii.). It is very possible that part of chap. i. was written as a psalm, and that ii. 1-4, containing the response, is the psalm's close. Lastly, 4, we can hardly fail to be struck by the resemblance between

¹ See *Crit. Bib.* on the prophets; *E. Bib.* 'Lamentations,' 'Psalms'; Cheyne, *Book of Psalms*⁽²⁾, vol. i. p. xxvi.

ii. 2 and Isa. viii. 1, xxx. 8. Does it not seem as if the writer of the former passage were dependent on the latter passages? And if this is the case, is not such imitation most easily understood if ii. 1-4 be post-exilic?

These considerations appear to me to carry the day provided that there is ground for analysing chap. i. into a prophecy and a psalm. According to my friend Marti there is, and here I cannot but agree with him. The divine oracle and its introduction are not to be connected with i. 14-17,¹ but with *vv.* 12 *a* and 13, and these in turn are the continuation of i. 2-4. Thus we get a well-connected psalm on this theme, 'How can God permit the violation of all order, of all righteousness?' What remains is i. 5-10, 14-17; this has for its theme the imminent appearance on the scene of history of the Ḥashramim, who are described in rhetorical conventional terms, reminding us of those used by Isaiah of the Asshurites and by Jeremiah of the foe from Ṣaphon.² It is this prophecy which, as it seems to me, belongs properly to Habakkuk. A redactor, in post-exilic times, interwove it with a psalm written probably in his own time, and appended to it a series of 'woes' on the impious and despotic N. Arabian oppressors. The last addition was the psalm in chap. iii. which, though expressly referred to 'Habakkuk the prophet,' is evidently the work of a trained psalmist, and not of a prophet. The psalm, like that in part ii. of Ps. lxxvii., is eschatological.³ The foes are those who, in Ezekiel, have Gog for their leader, and who, as I hope that I have shown,⁴ are N. Arabians. In both psalms the idea seems to be that Yahweh, in the midst of his wrath against Israel remembering mercy (Hab. iii. 2 *b*), will interpose for the last time against Israel's foes. It is, in fact, a recast of the great eschatological myth (pp. 17, 25) which we have before us. As at the beginning of this æon Yahweh destroyed the wicked human folk, except a few persons, by the deluge, so now he will again, by the same

¹ Read 'and he maketh,' with Marti.

² Asshur, Ṣaphon, and Ḥashram (= Ashhur-Aram) are synonymous. See note on the Kasdim of Habakkuk, *D. and F.* p. 94.

³ See Cheyne, *Psalms*⁽²⁾, ii. 15.

⁴ See *Crit. Bib.* (on Ezekiel), *T. and B.* pp. 157 *f.*; *E. Bib.*, 'Prophecy,' § 27.

means, destroy the wicked peoples (represented by N. Arabia) and spare Israel.

Should I be able to go on to Part II. of this work, I shall have to return to the post-exilic environment of the prophetic fragment of Habakkuk. It was worth while, however, to take this slight glance at the inserted passages, because even this sufficiently shows how keen an interest in N. Arabia was taken by the Judaites for a period of many centuries. I must now pass on to another 'minor' prophet not gifted as a writer, but interesting because of his inexhaustible theme—the Day of Yahweh—and because of his fondness for painting details. His name is Zephaniah.

By a quite exceptional favour, four of the immediate ancestors of this prophet are mentioned in the heading by name. Among them is his father Kushi (cp. 2 Sam. xviii. 21; Jer. xxxvi. 14). It also happens that the pseudo-Epiphanius describes Zephaniah as of the tribe of Simeon, of the highlands of *'Apaβaθa*.¹ Both statements together somewhat favour a connexion between Zephaniah's family and N. Arabia. Certainly the genuine part of his book contains a good deal about N. Arabia. How much, then, may be safely regarded as Zephaniah's work? Chap. i., apart from small insertions, is no doubt his, and also part of chap. ii. (vv. 4-7, 12-14). From these passages we get a vivid description of the Day of Yahweh (pp. 17, 190) in its relation to Judah, and a supplementary and incomplete pronouncement of doom upon the neighbouring peoples. In neither part is any human agent directly spoken of;² in the words of Isaiah, 'Yahweh alone shall be exalted in that day' (Isa. ii. 11). Still Zephaniah must have been fully conscious of the N. Arabian perils—the political and the religious. As to the former, does he not express his feelings unmistakably enough by uttering a doom upon Kush and upon Asshur³ (with its capital, whose name is transformed

¹ The readings are ἀγροῦ Σαβαραθα and ἀπὸ ὄρους Σαραβαθα (Nestle). Both give hints of the true reading.

² There may, however, be an allusion to the N. Arabian invaders in i. 7. Originally destroying angels may have been meant by the guests at the sacrifice.

³ Note the significant combination.

into Nineveh),¹ both N. Arabian regions, from which again and again enemies had issued to contend with the Judaïtes? And as to the latter, does he not prove his anxiety by the details which he gives of the prevalent harmful cults and practices? Marti rightly points out that these cults must have come in under Manasseh, but adds that the chief influence at that time was Assyrian. I think, however, that I have perhaps shown this to be a mistake; the chief religious influence was N. Arabian.

There was, therefore, no occasion to say much (in ii. 4-7, 12-14) of the offences of the doomed nations; Zephaniah's main object in referring to them is simply to justify Yahweh's treatment of Judah. It would be inequitable to punish Judah and suffer Judah's evil neighbours to go scot free. Besides, the mythic tradition required that not one nation only, but nations should be destroyed. Indeed, the assumption of the myth in one of its later forms is that all nations except the people of Jerusalem shall be destroyed in the day of Yahweh; the nations, therefore, of which Zephaniah pronounces the doom, are presumably the representatives of all nations (cp. Zeph. iii. 8). There is, however, this great distinction between Zech. xiv. and Zeph. i., that, according to the former, Jerusalem is saved, while according to the latter, it is destroyed. In fact, the writers both of Zeph. i. and of Zeph. iii. agree with Amos (v. 18) that the day of Yahweh will be a day of darkness and not of light. A miserable prospect, indeed, thought a later student of prophecy, who hastened to insert the fine and truly Christian statement that even the Ashtarites shall offer sacrifices to the true God (cp. Zeph. iii. 9 f; Isa. xix. 23-25). The redactor's finale is 'a triumph of mercy,' but only for Israel and Jerusalem.

Zephaniah's historical value is great. In a single chapter he tells us more of the popular religion than Jeremiah does in several pre-reformation cycles of prophecies. It was evidently customary with men of rank and position to take part in mystic rites derived from N. Arabia, which required the devotees to put on 'foreign clothing.' We

¹ See p. 40. העיר היונה in Zeph. iii. 1, should probably be read יונה, a misplaced gloss on 'the exultant city,' ii. 15.

know what attractions the cult of Ashtart had for the Judaïtes, and a simulation of the female sex by putting on women's attire probably formed part of it. The legislators were earnest in opposing it.¹ Such devotees are in i. 6 expressly called apostates.

We must not, however, suppose that there was, in any class, a general and complete apostasy from Yahweh. There were many nominal worshippers of this god, but they took a fundamentally wrong view of his moral nature; they thought he was a *roi fainéant*, and had left Judah to its own devices (i. 12). The devotees of Ashtart and Baal (or Yerahme'el) might quite well go on swearing by Yahweh on this theory of his character. Probably, indeed, as in the olden time (see on Hos. ii.), the divine name which they used on more formal occasions was Yerahme'el-Yahweh; the priests too bore, as of old (see on Hos. x. 5), the name Kemarim (*v.* 4), which indicated their N. Arabian origin. There is much more that might be said, *e.g.* on a point unmentioned even in Dr. G. A. Smith's beautiful *Jerusalem*, viz., the existence of a N. Arabian quarter in the capital of Judah. But for this it may suffice to refer to the section on Zephaniah.

IV

The prophetic impulse was soon exhausted, and Zephaniah lapsed into silence. Was his energy absorbed in helping forward the propagation of Deuteronomic ideas?² Or is his apparent silence only due to the loss of part of the prophetic material, or to the omission of the prophet or his disciples to put the once extant rough notes of his prophecies into shape? At any rate it is quite otherwise with Jeremiah, the records of whose activity³ seem to be fairly continuous from the later pre-reformation period to the collapse of the state. This, however, presupposes the critical labours of Duhm, without which,

¹ See *D. and F.* pp. 119-123; *T. and B.* pp. 565 f.

² So Marti.

³ Taking in what Duhm regards as the Book of Baruch. Certainly the work of a disciple must be presupposed. But cp. N. Schmidt's results in *E. Bib.*, 'Jeremiah.'

indeed, one could hardly realise truly what manner of man Jeremiah was. In fact, later ages seem to have persistently sought to transform the prophet, and give him, as it were, a second consciousness. Duhm has done his best (which is very much) to disentangle the real Jeremiah. But there is, perhaps, one task which devolves more especially on the present writer, viz., to find out to what extent, according to the text which underlies that of tradition, the N. Arabian peril occupied the mind of the prophetic observer. It causes me much regret to have had to conclude that what Jeremiah said on the Babylonian peril has not come down to us.

But why, it may be asked, has fate been so indulgent to those of his sayings which have a distinctly N. Arabian horizon? Partly, perhaps, by one of those accidents to which libraries are exposed, and partly because Jeremiah and his friends were really more interested in these prophecies than in any others, because the prophet was a native of the Israelite part of the southern border-land (see on i. 1). This latter point is the key to much of Jeremiah's writing. For instance, in a passage which as it stands is unintelligible, but which a keen methodical criticism enables us to correct (see on vi. 1), he makes this appeal:

Gather your goods to flee, O sons of Yaman,
Out of the midst of Ishmael.

Why is he so urgent? Plainly because these natives of Yaman, who are also true Israelites, are in the fullest sense his fellow-countrymen. He would have them flee from Ishmael (which, like Yaman, means N. Arabia), because 'evil impends from Şaphon, and great ruin.' He had, in fact, two countries and a double patriotism. No wonder, then, that he watched with straining eyes for the approach of the dreaded invaders, and that he says (or is made to say by his disciples) that he has been appointed 'a prophet for the nations' (i. 5; cp. xxv. 15-29), *i.e.* for the peoples of N. Arabia.¹

Of course, it is not to be denied that Jeremiah was first and foremost a prophet of Judah. But the connexion

¹ Thus the controversy between Stade and Cornill becomes needless.

of Judah and N. Arabia was (since the fall of N. Israel) so close, and the religious and political perils were so great (the political peril, however, was equally great for the neighbouring peoples), that to be a prophet to Judah naturally involved in some degree holding the same relation to N. Arabia. Whether the N. Arabians would hear of such a prophet or not does not greatly matter. Such passages, however, as 2 K. xviii. 25 and Jer. xxxix. 11 f., xl. 1-5, plainly show that the ancients did not think it unlikely that the oracles of Judaite prophets would be more or less known in N. Arabia. Certainly Amos and Isaiah might have been called in the same sense 'prophets for the nations,' but not perhaps with the same right as Jeremiah. The later redactors saw this very clearly; they therefore made assurance doubly sure by assigning prophecies on the nations to Jeremiah, which he did not write, on an unprecedented scale.

In one respect, it is true, the title of 'a prophet for the nations' was unsuitable for Jeremiah; he did indeed 'pull down and destroy' (i. 10), but he had to leave 'building and planting' to the spiritual statesmen of another age. A political philosopher might have ventured on a conjectural construction of the history of the future, but the 'word of Yahweh' was not political philosophy. It fell to Jeremiah to place the facts of the present and of the immediate foreseen future in the light of God's moral purpose; nothing more and nothing less than this. The expected invader thought to please himself, but the true stimulus to action came to him from Yahweh (Isa. v. 26, vii. 18). And whence was the invader brought? It was, from a Judaite point of view, from afar off; but it was, nevertheless, in N. Arabia, and Jeremiah's favourite name for it, already used by Zephaniah (ii. 13), is Şaphon (see passages in *D. and F.* pp. 41 f.). Singularly enough, Gog, the dreaded invader of the latter days, is also said to come from Şaphon (Ezek. xxxviii. 15, xxxix. 2). The name has been much misunderstood, but has lately been explained with a very near approach to certainty (see Jeremiah section).

If Jeremiah is a prophet for the N. Arabian peoples,

i.e. for pulling them down, what is he for his own people? Is his object simply to destroy? No; he is, in the first place, metaphorically speaking, a tester of metals (vi. 27), *i.e.* he has to ascertain whether there is, amidst all the dross, any genuine ore. Isaiah had been able to find none (Isa. i. 22); what was the experience of Jeremiah? Alas! in the context of the very passage which contains his appointment as 'tester' he already despairs of any satisfactory result. Later on he expresses a rudimentary philosophy of the moral decadence of his people; the habit of doing evil has become a second nature. 'Can the Ethiopian (Kushite) change his skin, or the leopard its spots?' (Jer. xiii. 23).

It was Jeremiah's conviction that the moral decline of his people was the result of the recent heathenish reaction. Hezekiah's son Manasseh had re-introduced the N. Arabian cults on a larger scale, and so counteracted the efforts of those who would fain have built up an ethical religion on the basis of the old Yahwistic tradition. Jeremiah, then, sought to undo the work of Manasseh by declaring the wrath of Yahweh (the true Yahweh, not one identifiable with Baal) against the N. Arabian abominations. Never, if we may believe our prophet, was there such unnatural infidelity as that of his people:

For pass over to Arabia of Chittim,¹ and look,
 Send to Kedar, and observe closely,
 And see if there hath (ever) been such a thing.
 Hath a nation (ever) changed its gods,
 Which yet are no gods?
 But my people hath changed its glory
 For that which doth not profit (ii. 10 f.).

It must, I fear, be confessed that Jeremiah is not very reasonable, for there is surely no religious phenomenon more frequent than the fusion of cults and deities. Nor is it fair to the deities of other peoples to say that they are no gods. There is no people which worships objects of stone or of wood simply as such, and apart from the divine power

¹ On the reading see Jeremiah section.

which wills to reside in them. When a great novelist,¹ who knows the southern nature well, speaks of a statue of San Francesco on a rocky islet near Naples as having 'never wandered one step since he was made, and set there to keep watch over the fishermen who come to sleep under the lee of the island by night,' he certainly does not mean that 'il Santo' is identical with the stone image made by some third-rate Italian sculptor. Rather, the saint is virtually identified with Christ, who, of course, could will to reside in any number of images, being himself 'very God.' Jeremiah, like most converts to a new faith, has lost the power to sympathise with stationary people. But this only means (1) that Jeremiah lived long before the history and philosophy of religion came into existence, and (2) that this prophet and his earlier compeers had taken such a great step forward that they could no longer understand their less progressive countrymen, who would certainly have said that time after time Israel had derived 'profit' from the gracious pair Baal and Ashtart.

At the same time, though Jeremiah probably does regard images as lifeless wood and stone (cp. Hos. ii. 10, viii. 4), he is not quite so inconsiderate as the traditional text makes him. The former passage runs thus, 'That saith to the stock, Thou art my father, and to the stone, Thou hast brought me forth'; the latter, 'Then, through the lightness of her whoredom, she defiled the land, and committed adultery with stones and with stocks' (cp. ii. 27 *a* and iii. 9). Such extreme sharpness is not to be admitted till the correctness of the text has been thoroughly established. In reality, 'stock' and 'stone' have taken the place of two popular corruptions of Ishmael.² The true father and the true husband of Israel was Yahweh; faithless Judah set Ishmael (*i.e.* Yerahme'el, the great N. Arabian deity) in the place which belonged of right to Yahweh.

The worship of Yerahme'el or Ishmael (= Baal) and Ashtart did not, of course, exclude that of Yahweh; only the Yahweh whom a Baal-worshipper recognised would not

¹ R. Hichens, *A Spirit in Prison* (1908), p. 1, cp. 130 *f.* Prof. Badè takes a somewhat different view (*ZATW*, 1910, pp. 88 *f.*).

² See Jeremiah section.

be the director of the three supreme deities, whom I have elsewhere called 'the divine Company.' Jeremiah's imaginary opponent in ii. 23 (the people personified) expressly denies having defiled herself by worshipping the Baals. The context (v. 19) shows the meaning to be that the worship of Baal did not imply the forsaking of Yahweh. This must have been true. Still, it was Yerahme'el or Baal, and not Yahweh, whose favour was really of importance to the majority. By 'the Baals' are meant all the local Baals, *i.e.* representatives or manifestations of Baal; and how many of these there were in Jerusalem before the reformation we see from Jer. ii. 28 *b* (cp. xi. 13), the text of which originally ran thus:¹

For as many cities as thou hast,
So many gods hadst thou,
And as many streets as Jerusalem hath,
So many sacrifices have they burned to Baal.

Even more popular, however, than the cult of Baal was that of Ashtart, the frequenting of whose temple was, to Jeremiah, the climax of Judah's ignominy. This we see from Jer. xi. 15, which (if I am not mistaken) should begin thus:²

What hath my beloved to do in the house of Ashtart?

There is also another passage (v. 7), where the Judaites are accused of cutting their flesh in the house of the *zōnah*,³ which is probably a corruption (not undesigned) of *Šib'onah*, one of the titles of Ashtart, which seems to occur again in a shortened form in Nah. ii. 7. And again, under another, but probably synonymous title,⁴ the same goddess, whose cult, like that of Baal, must have been costly, is referred to in iii. 24 as having 'consumed from our youth up the possessions of our fathers,' *i.e.* not, as a late supplementer supposed, 'their sons and their daughters,' but 'their flocks and their herds'⁵ (the supplementer's alternative explanation).

¹ See Jeremiah section and *D. and F.* p. 33.

² *Ibid.*

³ The same corruption (*zōnah*, 'harlot,' for *Šib'onah*, 'Šib'onite woman') seems to occur in Judg. xi. 1. An analogous case is that of *mirmah*, for *Yerahme'el*, in Ps. xxiv. 4.

⁴ Shabbith (from Shab'ith), virtually = 'Ishmaelite woman.' The prevalent view that *bōsheth* is = Baal, though ancient, is not acceptable.

⁵ According to Hos. v. 6, whole flocks and herds were absorbed by the sacrificial ritual of Yahweh, who, of course, was imagined in the likeness of Baal, *i.e.* he was Baal-Yahweh.

It was, of course, the women who were the mainstay of the cult of Ashtart, nor can one think lightly of the treasures of love and devotion lavished by the Judaite women on their 'Dōdah,' their best 'friend.'¹ Individually they owed much, as they conceived, to the gracious goddess, and it is probable that the scene so graphically described in Jer. vii. 18 (cp. xlv. 17 ff.) has to do with a special festival of Ashtart, which was connected with a form of the Babylonian myth of the 'Descent of Ishtar.' The Palestinian analogue to this myth may have said that Ashtart, the goddess of fertility, passed once a year, stripped of her glory, into the underworld, and that while she was there the productiveness of earth and its living beings was suspended.² The mourning of Judaite women for their vanished patroness is perhaps referred to (for the MT. is not infallible) in Ezek. viii. 14,³ and their rejoicing at her return (unless one of the ordinary feasts of Ashtart⁴ is intended) in Jer. vii. 18. That Ashtart also had a severe side, and required things of her devotees which did not conduce to moral progress in either sex, need not be mentioned (cp. on Hos. iv. 13 b; Amos ii. 7, and, p. 45, on Zeph. i. 8⁵). Still, even here we must not fail to recognise the depth of renunciation which this awful ritual assumes. That same quality, wisely directed, produced great spiritual results in later time.

Another demand on the capacity of self-abnegation is represented by the sacrifices of children.⁶ These were offered to the great N. Arabian deity in the character of ruler of the underworld; as such he might be called either Baal (from Yarba'al = Yerahme'el) or Melek (see Jer. xxxii. 35). Jeremiah, who denounces these sacrifices as alien to the true religion of Yahweh, mentions a valley close to Jerusalem as the scene of this terrible rite (Jer. vii. 31 f., xix. 5 f.); it is probably the valley spoken of in ii. 23, and a deeply felt reference to the abomination is

¹ Cp. Cheyne, *Bible Problems*, note on the cult of Mary.

² See *D. and F.* p. 54.

³ *D. and F.* p. 75. On this view it is not necessary to read 'blessing' instead of 'weeping.' 'Blessing' would point to a joyous occasion.

⁴ *T. and B.* p. 69; *D. and F.* pp. 118 f.

⁵ *D. and F.* pp. 23, 120 ff.

⁶ *T. and B.* pp. 50-54; *D. and F.* pp. 24 f.

made a little farther on in the same chapter (*v.* 34). Yet no one who remembers Gen. xxii. can help recognising the holiness of character with which this practice might, when not yet an 'abomination,' be associated.

Jeremiah, however, could not see this, just as he failed to see the intense religiousness of idolaters, the symbolic value of the various sacrifices, and the practical necessity, in the stage at which the development of the religion of Judah had arrived, of a fundamental law-book. This is what he says (*viii.* 8) of the supporters of just such a law-book, presumably a primitive form of Deuteronomy :

How can ye say, 'We are wise,
And the law (*tôrath*) of Yahweh is with us'?
Verily, into a lie has made it
The lying pen of scribes.

Here, surely, Jeremiah judges the scribes or bookmen (*soferim*) by a wrong standard. Book-religion is an enemy in so far as it impedes any new revelation, but a friend in so far as it reasserts those parts of the old revelation which general experience proves to be vital and operative. Did Jeremiah, after all, know much about the spiritual experience of the great majority of his people, in whatever class? I suspect not. Jeremiah seems to me to have been, like other great prophets, an extreme and intolerant man; his very passion for God made it hard for him to do justice to those who moved on a lower plane, but followed their conscience. I must, however, try to go farther, and give a more complete explanation of Jeremiah's attitude towards these men. Hitherto I have only pointed out that, being himself a prophet, and drawing from the perennial spring of divine revelation, Jeremiah distrusted those who put the requirements of Yahweh into the form of written laws.

But there are three other not less important considerations which must have weighed with our prophet. First, as regards the name of Israel's God. I have shown elsewhere¹ that in the earliest form of Deuteronomy the people addressed are the Israelites or Judaïtes in the N. Arabian border-land, and that when this law-book was taken up by

¹ *D and F* p 20.

the reformers in Judah, it was altered in various points to adapt it to Judaite circumstances. The question is, How far did the alteration go? Did the Judaite reformers think it necessary to change the name of God? We know from the narratives that various divine names were current in early times among the Israelites, *e.g.* not only Yahweh, but Yerahme'el or Yarham, and Asshur (to speak only of gods), to which we may add the combinations Yahweh-Yerahme'el and Yerahme'el-Yahweh. Considering the N. Arabian traditions it is certain that the name of God used in the great N. Arabian law-book was Yahweh-Yerahme'el (or Yarham; cp. Ex. xxii. 19¹). Sooner or later this was bound to be altered in Judah as a condition of religious progress, but the alteration can hardly have been immediate, because in portions of the expanded Deuteronomy which were added in Judah we find, on applying the indispensable keen criticism, that the original text had the divine names, Yerahme'el, Ethbaal,² Ashhur,³ Yahweh-Ashhur.⁴ I cannot go into these names here,—the reasons for my statement are given elsewhere,—but I may refer in passing to Prof. Badè's new explanation of 'one Yahweh,' in one of the later parts of Deuteronomy (vi. 4), as an attack on the multiplication of Yahwehs consequent on the multiplication of sanctuaries (cp. 2 Sam. xv. 7).⁵ I cannot accept this view, nor can I altogether agree with Prof. Badè on southern religion (see p. 50, n. 1). Besides, throughout the context the emphasis is laid on serving Yahweh alone, and no rival god. The passage ought to run, 'Yahweh is our God (*variant*, Yahweh-Ashhur).'

That being the case, I cannot think it likely that the name of God in the great N. Arabian law-book was altered at the Judaite reformation, and the probability is that the name in question is Yahweh-Yerahme'el. But that Jeremiah approved of this seems to me very doubtful. To him Yahweh was the only God who could enforce his will in heaven and on earth. As for Yerahme'el, if there were

¹ *T. and B.* pp. 28 f., 69; *D. and F.* pp. 105 f., 'Thou shalt sacrifice to Yahweh-Yerahme'el alone.'

² *D. and F.* p. 156.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 145 f.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 156, 167.

⁵ *ZATW*, 1910, pp. 88 f.

such a being apart from the images (which were but wood and stone), he was no colleague of Yahweh, but his enemy, destined to a complete and final overthrow. I think, then, that though Deuteronomy is strongly against N. Arabian religion, Jeremiah would have been very discontented with the retention of the god Yerahme'el even as a subordinate member of the divine Company. In fact, our prophet (like his predecessors from Amos onwards) seems to have entirely abandoned the traditional belief in a divine Company.

Another reason for Jeremiah's hostility to the newly promulgated law-book was its recognition of the sacrificial system. Had Deuteronomy contained any doctrine of symbolism, Jeremiah might possibly have been propitiated, but the time was not come for this, and Jeremiah would most probably have regarded it as an illegitimate compromise—he was not as far advanced as the Iranian prophet Zarathustra. According to him the sacrifices were based, not on divine commands, but on ancient customs 'more honoured in the breach than in the observance,' and formed no part of the fundamental divine *tōrah*. The one fundamental commandment was, 'Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people; and walk ye in all the ways that I have commanded you (cp. Hos. vi. 6), that it may be well unto you' (vii. 23).¹

The third objection which Jeremiah must have raised to the Deuteronomic law-book is its spirit of optimism. Its compilers and editors seemed to have no doubt that its prescriptions could and would be observed by the people, not perceiving the black clouds on the horizon. They (at least the editors) were confident that Yahweh had 'chosen' Jerusalem 'to place his name there,' and could not believe that, even if the laws were imperfectly observed, their God would desert his habitation (Jer. vii. 1-16). And so the law-book became as harmful as the myth of the day of Yahweh in its popular form, which formerly had so much displeased Amos. Jeremiah and the other prophets of his class were, for the immediate present, pessimists; not so were the friends of the law-book.

I now pass on to a biography of the prophet possibly

¹ On vii. 21-26, see p. 56.

written by his friend and disciple Baruch.¹ Only a few connected portions of it are left; these are contained in cc. xxvi.-xxix., xxxii.-xlv. The opening narrative (xxvi. 1) tells us that 'in the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim' the prophet made an address to the people in the court of Yahweh's house. Now we can hardly think that *vv.* 4-6 contain 'all that Yahweh had commanded Jeremiah to speak,' but it is highly probable that in vii. 3-15 there are passages which give in part a good idea of what the prophet really said on this occasion. A similar view may be taken of the summary of an address of Jeremiah in vii. 21-26. The form may not be worthy of the prophet, but the most fundamental ideas on the worth of the temple and of sacrifice are certainly his.

Evidently the type of religion approved by Jeremiah has old Arabian rather than Canaanite affinities, *i.e.* represents in certain points the semi-nomad rather than the settled mode of life. What Canaanites would have called progress Jeremiah and his like-minded predecessors regarded as degeneration. And for this view—so oppressive to the mass of his countrymen—Jeremiah actually claims the authority of Yahweh. These, according to an authentic prophecy of Jeremiah (ii. 21), are Yahweh's words:

Yet I had planted thee a noble vine,
Altogether a genuine plant;
How art thou turned to one that is foul,
A vine that is degenerate!

A belief in the natural and necessary connexion between Yahweh and a temple made with hands was, to Jeremiah, one sign of this degeneracy. We cannot, therefore, be surprised that in a letter, preserved perhaps in a shorter form in Baruch's biography, from Jeremiah to the exiles in Bābel² (xxix. 3-23) no advice is proffered as to building a temple to Yahweh, in spite of the assurance which the prophet gives them that their stay will be of long duration. This is of importance, not only for our view of Jeremiah, but for the history of Jewish religion. For it does not seem

¹ Duhm holds this very confidently, and the view, though conjectural, is not without plausibility. ² See *D. and F.* pp. 57-61, 81.

probable that the Deuteronomic law of One Sanctuary was meant to apply outside of Palestine, and if the exiles could have assured their captor of their loyalty, they might presumably have got leave to erect a sanctuary. Yet they do not seem to have sought this leave, and certainly progressive religion was the gainer.

Another sign of Israel's decadence, as our prophet (in harmony with his predecessors) held, was the fancy that animal sacrifices formed part of the fundamental law of Yahweh,—a fancy supported by certain law-books which claimed divine origin. In reality, however, the sacrifices formed no part of the truly divine *tōrah*, which indeed was not written down in compendiums of uncertain origin, but made known by Yahweh to his prophets. What Jeremiah, for instance, heard from an inward speaker he repeated to audiences large and small, and then, for the use of his disciples (Isa. viii. 16), worked up, using probably some friendly pen. Sometimes, however, Baruch 'the scribe' would read to others the contents of a prophetic roll, and we are told (xxxvi. 16) that, on one occasion when Baruch did this, the 'princes' were struck with terror, attributing perhaps a magic self-fulfilling virtue to the prophecies. Apparently it was the first time that a copy of prophecies of Jeremiah had come before them, nor had they been among those who had heard his gloomy revelations recited.

Jeremiah, then, was, in a higher sense than any of his contemporaries, Yahweh's prophet. The other prophets, morally at any rate, belonged to a school which I have called (p. 17) nationalistic. Its leading representative just now appears to have been 'Hananiah ben Azur, the prophet.' The story of his competition with Jeremiah is told at length in chap. xxviii. To Jeremiah's exhortation to loyalty towards the king of Bābel, Hananiah opposes his confident assertion that Yahweh has 'broken the yoke of the king of Bābel.' I have treated the narrative elsewhere.¹ Its close, however, is too suggestive to be omitted here:—

And the prophet Jeremiah said to the prophet Hananiah, Hear now, Hananiah; Yahweh hath not sent thee, and thou makest this people to trust in a lie. Therefore thus saith

¹ *D. and F.* pp. 77 *f.*; *E. Bib.*, 'Prophecy,' § 24 *a.*

Yahweh, Behold, I will send thee from off the earth; this (very) year thou diest.¹

Other 'lying prophets,' *i.e.* religious fanatics of the nationalist party, who appear to have been mentioned in the biography, are Ah'ab² and Zedekiah, who are said to have been roasted in the fire by the king of Bābel, and whose offences were gross immorality and speaking lying words in Yahweh's name (xxix. 22 *f.*). But, as the text stands, we must, I think, decline to accept it. That two Judaite prophets in Bābel incurred the king's displeasure by maintaining in prophetic addresses the claim of Jehoiachin to the throne of Judah, and prophesying his return, is likely enough, but that they were burned, as if for adultery (Gen. xxxviii. 24), is very improbable.³ Another 'lying prophet' among the exiles is Shemaiah the Nehelamite, who sent a letter to Jerusalem against Jeremiah because of the letter which that prophet had written. The passage (xxix. 24-32) has been much supplemented or interpolated.⁴

One thing, at any rate, these so-called lying prophets could do was to keep the people in nominal allegiance to Yahweh. But a time was coming too soon when the essential vanity of this allegiance would be manifested. It sounds strangely enough, but for that very reason the suspicion of fiction is excluded,—that an important section of those who had survived the final invasion and siege made a solemn vow to exchange Yahweh as their deity for Ashtart (xliv. 15-19). It will be remembered⁵ that the cult of this goddess was extremely congenial to most of the Judaites, and correspondingly repugnant to Jeremiah. There were thus two Baalistic reactions during our prophet's ministry. One was that which (as it seems) came to an end, or was greatly restricted, as the result of the captivity of

¹ This might be a case of second sight. Cp. St. Adamnan's account of a prophecy of St. Columba that a certain boy would die at the end of the week (*Life of St. Columba*, book i. chap. 16).

² Ah'ab is explained on Hos. iv. 1.

³ The right reading is הָרָגוּם בְּאִשּׁוּר, 'killed them in Asshur.' This was corrupted into הָרָגוּם בְּאִש, and then the figment of adultery easily arose; hence the insertion. Probably בְּאִשּׁוּר was written בְּאִש. See *D. and F.* p. 60, where it is shown that the reference is to a N. Arabian Asshur.

⁴ See Duhm and Cornill.

⁵ *D. and F.* pp. 72 *f.*

Jehoiachin; the other, that which came into being with the fall of Jerusalem.

But to return to the solemn vow, which strikes upon our ears so strangely, in xlv. 15-19. Against the injunctions of the man of God, a section of the Judaite population had fled to the land of Mišrim, carrying him with them. A controversy ensued between Jeremiah and the fugitive men and women. Exactly where it took place we know not. From xlv. 1 we only learn where, within a considerable district, Jews were to be found. The district is no doubt (as in ii. 18, 36) the land of Mišrim, and the towns intended are Migdol and Naphtaḥ-ḥas;¹ afterwards we find the explanatory gloss 'and in the land of Sophereth' (*i.e.* perhaps Šarephath). At any rate, the issue of the debate was that Jeremiah warned the Jews that all who stayed in Mišrim would perish. His idea is that to sojourn in Mišrim necessarily involves the worship of other gods, whereas to remain in Judah, or to go with the other exiles to Bābel, would be not inconsistent with fidelity to Yahweh. We are hardly in a position to criticise this, but can imagine that, parted from the leaders of Yahwism (most of whom had gone to Bābel), a body of the most narrow-minded members of the community would not come to much good in Mišrim. It should be remembered, too, that the king of Mišrim² at this time was as hostile to the king of Bābel as Zedekiah, and that Jeremiah (if rightly represented) was assured that he would share Zedekiah's fate. This, according to the prophet, involved the destruction of the feeble Judaite settlements on Mišrite territory. Only a small remnant would survive to escape to their native country (xlv. 26-30).

Another point to be kept in mind is that Jeremiah was on friendly terms with the king of Bābel. No doubt his motives were unpolitical; he acted in obedience to an inward monitor, and with a view to the highest interests of Judah. But if he had been favourable to a migration into Mišrim he could not have held up his head before the representatives of Bābel.

Here the narrator must pause. Gladly would he follow

¹ See Jeremiah section.

² On the text-reading 'Pharaoh-Hophra,' see *D. and F.* p. 81.

the course which was in former times so easy, and picture the relations between our prophet and the princes or captains of the king of Babylon. But his historical conscience forbids. It is not to be denied that a Babylonian intervention in the affairs of Judah actually took place, but the incomplete references to political matters extant in the Book of Jeremiah throw no light upon this; they speak only of a N. Arabian invasion which issued in a N. Arabian captivity. Whether Jeremiah himself ultimately joined the exile-band either in Babylonia or in the land of Şaphon, or whether he suffered a martyr's death in Mişrim, is quite uncertain.

May we venture to suppose that the passing of Jeremiah was brightened by an expectation of a new and better covenant? I cannot think so. A true prophet would keep his thoughts under control, and would not suffer them to outrun divine revelation. I do not mean that our prophet had no prospects. We are sure that he, like Isaiah, had sealed up his revelations in the hearts of his disciples (Isa. viii. 16), who had therefore assuredly some part to play in the immediate future, whether in one or other of the lands of Judah's captivity, or in the home of his ancestors. Jeremiah himself, though not instructed in the ordinary way, felt himself providentially called to act as if title-deeds would still be valid in Judah in the coming years¹ (Jer. xxxii. 6-15). Surely it must have been no slight comfort to the prophet to believe that Baruch and others would still have 'a charge to keep' and 'a God to glorify,' and that, even if not technically a people, yet a Judaite population in Judah would once more have a chance of turning to its God.

His influence was certainly felt more after his death than in his life. This is shown by the large amount of supplementing which his authentic prophecies have undergone (see Duhm), and by the points of contact between certain late writings, especially psalms² and the composite Book of Jeremiah. The supplementers and redactors did their work first, and did it so successfully that no consciousness can be traced in post-Jeremian writings of any distinction between

¹ *D. and F.* p. 83.

² Cp. Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, pp. 122, 134-136, 230, 242, 247, 250.

original and non-original elements in the book. We, however, are bound to draw such a distinction. The conception of Jeremiah as the announcer of the New Covenant, and the predictor of the return of the exiles after seventy years, is based on the work of supplementers, who had much regard for edification and none for history.

We have now traced the strangely interwoven fortunes of the two religions of Israel—that of the God Yahweh and that of the God Yerahme'el—the progressive and the unprogressive, in the pre-exilic period. In the next period it will become evident that, though both religions continue to exist, one is better off in the more cultured class than the other. By the violence of the shock of captivity all Israelites, in whom is the germ of better things, are driven in upon their true selves, and delivered once for all from the unspiritual polytheism which has so long weakened and oppressed Israel. These are the true Israel, that which speaks in so many of the Psalms, *e.g.* in the 51st, where it is said :

A pure heart create for me, O God !

A constant spirit produce within me ;

and in the 73rd, where, as the result of experience, we are told :

Surely God is good to Israel,

To those who are of a clean heart.¹

To this clean, or pure heart the old, broken covenant is no longer appropriate ; God, therefore, vouchsafes a new and lasting one (Jer. xxxi. 31-34, xxxii. 40). Yahweh still remains the name of God,² but there is a tendency to substitute titles, such as Adonai (Lord) and Elohim (God), a tendency which reminds us that, at an earlier date (pp. 7, 12), Zarathustra worshipped God as Ahura Mazda, 'the much-knowing Lord.' Or if Yahweh is retained by those of the more educated class who read Hebrew, it is interpreted as meaning the Eternal (in Palestine) or the Self-existent (at Alexandria).

But is the divine name Yerahme'el abandoned by these saintly and patriotic men? Not entirely. In the earlier

¹ The form of text here translated can hardly be right (see Cheyne, *Psalms*⁽²⁾, i. 320).

² See Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, pp. 287-291.

period this N. Arabian God was reduced, among the most progressive Israelites, to the rank of a subordinate member of the divine duad or triad, and in the later period to that of the leading archangel. It may be added that the difference between the two ranks is hardly appreciable. For an archangel is certainly a divine being; indeed to this archangel (called Michael)¹ some of the later Jews are said to have offered sacrifices, which reminds us of the lamb formerly sacrificed on St. Michael's Day by the Celts of the Scottish Highlands.²

The religion of the God Yerahme'el, therefore, is not entirely destroyed even among those devoted Yahwists; disguised as the archangel Michael he shows most beautiful and attractive qualities, and intervenes both in heaven and on earth when some specially hard task (as we might call it) has to be performed for Him who is ever at rest, and works in and by His agents, and especially by the mediator Michael. This is a theme on which much more might be said, but the student will easily find sources of further information. I refer to it here simply because we have seen already how much even devout and progressive Yahwists were influenced by what we must call relatively the lower religion. But I have now something to add which may surprise some of my critics as much as anything in this book. I cannot suppress it, because such an able scholar as Prof. Bousset thinks that the Jewish names of the good and bad angels 'form an unsolved problem of the history of religion.'³ I am only concerned here with Michael and Beliar, representatives of good prince-angels and bad ones respectively. I venture to quote from an article,⁴ which

¹ On the origin of 'Michael' see *T. and B.* pp. 60, 279, 293; and Cheyne, *Bible Problems*, with appended notes.

² It is interesting to know that the Micheil (Michael) of the Gaelic-speaking Scottish Highlanders is quite as much pagan as Christian, and in all probability was originally an ancient Celtic sea-god, a transmutation analogous to that of the N. Arabian God Yerahme'el into the Jewish prince-angel Michael. On the Celtic deity and his developments see Fiona Macleod, *A Divine Adventure*, pp. 161 ff.

³ *Geschichte des Judentums*, p. 376. Azazel, Sammael, Beliar, and Beel-zebub (Beel-zebul) have similar origins to Michael. See *T. and B.* as above.

⁴ Review of Charles' *Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs* in *Hibbert Journal*, October 1909, pp. 217-221.

has probably escaped the notice at any rate of German scholars.

'The evolution of Yerahme'el was not confined to one direction. It seems that he was an older god than Yahweh, and that, to those who regarded him and not Yahweh as the supreme God, the sphere of his dominion was not only earth and heaven, but the underworld. Even in the Old Testament there are probable traces of Yerahme'el as the Hebrew Pluto, and it would be extremely natural if, by the time the Testaments were written, Yerahme'el had become equivalent to the "evil inclination" in man, of which the later Jewish writers speak. As a matter of fact, however, it is not Yerahme'el, but Beliar, who comes to be virtually identified with the "evil inclination" (Test. Asher, i. 8). What, then, is the meaning and origin of Beliar? For my part, I do not think that a textual critic can hesitate as to the origin of Beliar, or a historian of religion as to the way in which Beliar rose to his proud position in the spirit-world. Both Beliar and Belchor (the form in Jubilees i. 20), to which we may add Belchirâ and the connected forms (at which Dr. Charles is naturally perplexed), are to the advanced textual critic easy products of Yerahme'el, and even those imperfectly versed in criticism will recognise that Beliar is simply an inversion of Jarbel (for which compare Arbel in Hos. x. 14, and the name distorted into Yerubbaal in Judg. vi. 32). And here again it is to cultured devotees of Yahweh, or by whatever other name they preferred to call the Most High God, that we must ascribe the transformation of Jarbel (*i.e.* Yerahme'el) into Beliar.

'That Beliar was originally a god no student can fail to perceive. He is identified with the Antichrist (symbolised by darkness); and if the Christ (symbolised by light) is divine, his opponent cannot be less than divine. Indeed, is he not called (*Ascens. Is.* i. 3) "the prince of this world and of his angels," and is not his seat in the firmament, and has he not at his beck and call seven spirits of deceit, just as God is ministered to by seven archangels?'

This view deserves, I think, the attention of the high priests of the new study of the history of religion. Dualism among the Israelites is not of purely Persian origin. To a

large extent it is due to Babylonian influences, but these may well have been indirect. The conjecture may be offered that N. Arabia (the traditional home of wisdom) had much to do with its growth in Palestine. But if so, the period of the captivity must have seen a radical change in the names of evil spirits, the chief of whom was even furnished with a name derived directly from a popular form of Yerahme'el.

But was the cultured class entirely unanimous in adhering to a purified form of the religion of Yahweh? And did the uncultured 'people of the land' draw the same lesson from Israel's misfortunes as their more educated brethren? It may at any rate, I think, be gathered from the Psalter that there were some wealthy Jews who made common cause with the N. Arabian (as well as Persian) oppressors, plundering the 'humble' and 'pious,' and rejecting Yahweh as their God. Other details can be obtained from the later prophets. But first I will quote a spirited passage from the Psalter. It is an independent psalm,¹ though incorporated into Ps. l. (as *vv.* 15-22):—

I

What right hast thou to rehearse my statutes,
Or to utter aloud mine ordinance,
When (thou showest that) thou hatest discipline,
And castest my words behind thee?

2

Thou connectest thyself with the assembly of the impious,
And throwest in thy lot with the unholy:
With thy mouth thou whisperest malignity,
And to thy neighbours thou utterest deceit.

3

Thou speakest a shameful thing against thy brother,
Thou revilest the son of thy mother.
Yahweh thou hast tempted and hast provoked,
Thou hast defied the law of thy God.

¹ Cheyne, *Psalms*⁽²⁾, i. 226 (see critical notes). Some want of clearness in Dr. Briggs's exposition is the result of keeping Ps. l. as one long psalm.

4

For thy perfidy (?) I will punish thee,
 And set in order (thy ways?) before thee.
 Mark this, ye that deny God,
 Lest I tear in pieces, and there be none to rescue.

From passages in the later prophets I think we may still further enrich our picture of these times. I will, however, only mention four here, leaving it to the future to decide whether I do more later. These passages are (a) Isa. xliv. 5, (b) Zech. x. 2, (c) Zech. xiii. 2-6, (d) Mal. iii. 5. The first (a), as it stands, is so startling that Duhm has altered some of the vowel points, and so, indeed, the translators of our A.V. must have done. This, however, gives an unsatisfactory sense. Lines 2 and 4, as read by Duhm, are not properly parallel to lines 1 and 3. The key to the passage lies in our discovery that Ya'akob (Jacob) is an ancient transformation of Yarham¹ (= Yerahme'el). Yarham is a divine name; so, also, if exegesis so requires, may Ya'akob be. Exegesis here and in Ps. xxiv. 6² does require it; the reference is to the compound name of Israel's God, which was in common use before the Exile, Yahweh-Yerahme'el. That line 4 is puzzling I do not deny. Comparing line 2 and Zech. xiii. 6, which refers to a prophet as having ritual stigmata, one can hardly doubt that there are two corrupt words in the line (those rendered 'surname' and 'Israel'). The passage should therefore run thus:

One shall say, 'I am Yahweh's,'
 And another shall call on the (divine) name of Ya'akob,
 And another shall mark on his hand 'Yahweh's,'
 And prophesy³ using the (divine) name of Ishmael.⁴

We have seen already that Yerahme'el and Ishmael are equivalent. I see no probable alternative to this explanation. It involves the very possible supposition that the passage explained is a later insertion, for in vv. 1 and 2 'Jacob' is = Israel. But the information contained is none the worse for (probably) not coming from 2 Isaiah. The object of the interpolation was to justify something that the

¹ See below, on Isa. xvii. 4, and cp. *T. and B.* pp. 359, 403.

² If the text is right.

³ Read יִנְבֵּא.

⁴ Read יִשְׁמַעֵאל.

school of Isaiah and Jeremiah would have strongly opposed, viz. the combination of the names of Yahweh and Yerahme'el in the ceremony of invocation and in prophecy.

The second passage (*b*) is valuable for its clear statement that teraphim¹ were still a source of oracles in post-exilic times. The third (*c*) for the information that images still existed in Judah, and prophets who had the service of a spirit of uncleanness (*i.e.* who had received their oracles, professedly, from the N. Arabian god Yerahme'el), and had resorted to a temple in Ah'ab² (see p. 27), *i.e.* in N. Arabia, where they received ritual stigmata between the eyes and on the hands.³ It appears that there were divisions in families on the permissibility of all this. The writer himself seems positively to hate the word *nebi'im*, 'prophets.' The fourth passage (*d*) shows that the moral average in the time of Malachi was no higher than it had been in pre-exilic times. The list of sinners is headed by the enchanters and the adulterers. Even then religion was a tangled growth of magic and something higher and better.

It was therefore a hard task which awaited the pioneers of religious reform when, by degrees, many of the exiles returned to their ancient home. The religious gap between them and those who had been left on the soil of Judah was indeed great. Two religions confronted each other as of old, and had there not been a nucleus of earnest, consecrated men, who had put aside the prejudice of Jeremiah against book-religion, without undervaluing or discouraging personal efforts to teach and to persuade, the progress which was ultimately made in the course of centuries would have been impossible. Perhaps the author and his readers may meet again on this field. Now, however, we must pass on to a re-examination of the chief narratives relative to prophets and the chief prophetic discourses, with a view to justify and supplement the preceding sketch, and to gain a fuller idea of the growth of prophecy, in the midst of, and partly in consequence of, seemingly insuperable hindrances.

¹ See *E. Bib.*, 'Teraphim.'

² Read אֱחָאֲבִים.

³ I adopt P. Haupt's necessary conjecture, mentioned by Batten, *The Hebrew Prophet*, p. 337. The text reading, 'between thy hands,' is nonsense.

I. MOSES SECTION

NO one, I think, can honour Babylonists more than I do ; no one is more convinced than I am of the reality of Babylonian influence on the culture (including the religion) of the Israelites, but no one also can be more convinced that that influence was to a great extent indirect. Hebrew prophecy, for instance, in the primitive period owes more (directly, that is) to Arabia than to Babylonia. At present I am more concerned with its source than with its final expansion, and its source, as I hope to make clear, was in N. Arabia. Inscriptional evidence may be as yet wanting, but literary evidence is abundant and decisive. Both soothsaying and prophecy came from N. Arabia, and originally there was no moral opposition between them. In fact one of the many imperfectly solved critical problems is—how to account for the high ethical standard of the later prophecy and its consequent intense opposition to divination. It is plain that divination could not be dislodged (cp. Zech. x. 2), and that even after the higher prophecy had developed, religiously conservative Israelites went on practising divination in N. Arabian sanctuaries. Nor were stationary folk much less indebted to Arabia. The land of Israel, says Isaiah (ii. 6 ; cp. Hos. xiii. 2), abounded with Ishmaelite¹ diviners, a fact which it may be hard to assimilate until we have learned that between the popular god of the Israelites and the god of their N. Arabian neighbours there was no very clear line of demarcation. The latter sometimes went by the name Yerahme'el (Yarham), out of which was

¹ 'Philistines' in Isa. ii. 6 should be 'Ethbalites' (see on Am. i. 8).

differentiated Yahweh¹ (Yahu), which became specially appropriated to the God of Israel. The name Yerahme'el, however, was known to the Israelites as well as to the N. Arabians and the Canaanites, and out of one of its corruptions (Yarbaal, Yerubbaal) came the famous Baal.² In these circumstances it was inevitable that a large amount of religious fusion should take place (see on Hos. ii.). In fact, as criticism shows, the two names came to be combined as Yerahme'el-Yahweh.³ Often, too, we find a trace of the combination of a god and a goddess, viz. Yahweh and Ashtart,⁴ and underlying corrupt readings in Genesis and Exodus we meet with the old divine name Asshur or Ashhur.⁵

It is no part, however, of the plan of this section to attempt a full account of the popular religion of Israel and its neighbours. It is hoped, indeed, that those who 'read, mark, learn,' will obtain a more complete and definite idea of that religion, but that will depend largely on themselves. Suffice it to add (1) that there are textual traces of other divine titles besides those which have been mentioned, and (2) that the redactors of the O. T. have evidently expunged references to those objects of superstitious dread (parallel to the *jinn* of the Arabs)⁶ which came down from a more primitive age.

The greatest representatives of Hebrew prophecy for later ages are of course those who have clothed their vaticinations or intuitions in a noble literary form. To these the bulk of our space must be assigned. Still there are some heroic personages connected with the story of prophecy who cannot be passed over, even though the personal details in their respective legends may be imaginative. The prophetic ideals of the narrators would not have descended to posterity but for the clothing created by the imagination. Our Bible would miss something better than mere romantic tales if the legends of Moses, Balaam, Samuel, Elijah, Elisha, were to be cut out of it.

¹ *T. and B.* p. 64.

² *Ibid.* p. 50; see section on Elijah.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 369, 391.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 19 f.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 24.

⁶ W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*⁽²⁾, pp. 118 ff.; Wellhausen, *Arab. Heidentum*⁽²⁾, pp. 148 ff.; Cheyne, *E. Bib.* col. 397.

Beyond all doubt, however, the most famous of these is the reputed founder of Jewish religion, whom early Christianity itself regarded as the chief among the types of Jesus Christ. After a transient obscuration among non-Jewish scholars the traditional view of Moses would seem now to be regaining lost ground; there is an at least temporary reaction. It was in a review of Winckler and Zimmern's substitute for a new edition of Schrader's well-known work (*KAT*) that the new movement first found expression. An appeal to Old Testament students by the same truth-loving scholar followed,¹ which, though some of its *obiter dicta* bear traces of haste, was both stimulating and suggestive. So the great work of the readjustment of criticism to new data was begun, at any rate for German students, for really I cannot admit that all English scholars had waited either for Delitzsch or for Baentsch. English scholars, however, are proverbially slow. Some of the older men thought that by waiting longer they would get new material, while others may perhaps have been provisionally satisfied with the opportunity provided for original work (taking account of the cuneiform discoveries) provided by the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. If, therefore, many English scholars hesitated it was not from ignorance.

Anyhow the first English monograph, from a fairly Babylonist point of view, was written by one of the younger scholars, Dr. C. F. Burney² of Oxford, and from a more theological point of view a general support was given to the reaction, so far as Moses is concerned, by Dr. Paul Volz,³ now happily recalled to Tübingen. The arguments of these scholars are based partly on the affinities of Egyptian and Babylonian records and monuments, partly on psychological considerations, and on the analogy of the foundation of Christianity. The moral and spiritual truths in those ancient records have suggested the possibility that a relatively pure religion existed among the early

¹ *Altoriental. und israelit. Monotheismus* (1906), by B. Baentsch.

² 'A Theory of the Development of Israelite Religion in Early Times,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, April 1908, pp. 321 ff.

³ *Mose, ein Beitrag zur Untersuchung über die Ursprünge der israelitischen Religion* (1907).

Israelites. Such a religion would doubtless require a founder or organiser who had himself assimilated the best foreign religious ideas. Psychology, too, confirms the theory that great movements require the initiation of an individual, and this is supported by the striking analogy of the foundation of Christianity. And does not Moses, brought up by an Egyptian princess, exactly meet the requirements of the case? Such is the question brought before us by some of the younger generation.

One would dearly love to reply in the affirmative—if one could. A prophet of the West (Carlyle) long ago preached anew the gospel of personality,¹ and now that the plausibility of a belief in Moses has so greatly increased, it is natural that some of the enthusiasts for personality as well as for religion should run to arms. Baentsch has been promoted, we trust, to higher work, but he has found a capable successor. Burney's ready references both to Egyptian and to Babylonian literature imply much study; I only wish that he had used it with more sobriety and with a stricter criticism. Had he done so, he would have recognised more clearly the fact that Babylonian influence upon Israel must have been largely indirect and exercised through other peoples. I find it therefore impossible to assent to this part of his argument. And still less weight can I attach to his argument from Egyptology. He holds the opinion that Moses was 'learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians' (Acts vii. 22), so that he might even have known and made honey out of the wonderful 'negative confession' in the Book of the Dead. But surely the best authenticated—or the least unhistorical—tradition is that which connects Moses with Midian and with the Israelites; the story in Ex. i. 15–ii. 10 is isolated and has no effect on the subsequent story, and the narrative in Ex. ii. 11–21 *a* (to which iv. 19 belongs) is a mere fiction devised to bridge over the story of the exposure of the child Moses and his education by the Miṣrite king's daughter, and that of his home in Midian.²

¹ After writing the above I notice that Alb. Schweitzer recognises the spirit of Carlyle in Bousset's small but noble book, *Jesus (Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, 1906, p. 246).

² *T. and B.* p. 523.

His name, too, in spite of the incessant repetitions of commentators and lexicographers, cannot be Egyptian,¹ but may well mark him out as a N. Arabian culture-hero and 'Heilbringer' (see below).

If, however, we are to be really strict in our criticism, the historicity of Moses must be abandoned.² Even if Dr. Burney were right as to the purity of 'Mosaic' religion, 'Mosaic' could only be accepted as a symbolic word. The force of personality in the religious as well as in the political sphere I heartily admit, but the wielders of this great weapon are not always easily discovered except by romancers. Prof. Volz remarks that 'we cannot help placing a person at the beginning of the moral religion of Israel, and as such we accept the Moses whom popular tradition offers to us.'³ There may not, he admits, be strong literary-critical grounds for the historicity of Moses, but to neutralise this fact he appeals to the analogy of Christianity. It is not, he says, the so-called 'salvation-facts' of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ on which the Christian religion is really based, but His personality. Just so, it was not the Exodus on which the new Yahweh religion was really based, but the personality of Moses—a personality shaped and moulded by inner experiences. Of these experiences of Moses there are no strictly historical records, but who cannot sympathise with those narrators of Israel's religion who, wanting a founder, involuntarily thought of that great and almost superhuman hero whose lineaments were still present to the imagination?

If I rightly understand Prof. Volz, these narrators were early adepts in the idealistic and historical method, and it is only natural that, thinking as he does, this scholar should himself make a contribution to this style of writing. If the framework were more solid I would not object to this. A historian should not be too shy of accepting help from the imagination when tradition is imperfect. But while granting that there may have been, in very early times, a rudimentary

¹ *T. and B.* pp. 521, 523; cp. *E. Bib.* 'Moses.'

² I may be pardoned for remarking that I have myself, with Prof. Ed. Meyer, long since expressed this conviction. See e.g. *E. Bib.*, 'Moses,' and on the other side Bennett, in *Hast. D.B.*, 'Moses'; Kittel, *Hist. of the Hebrews*, i. 239.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 15.

monotheism in Babylonia,¹ and that a man of monotheistic tendencies may conceivably have become a leader of Israelite clans, and have deposited in the records of their religion the germ of a real monotheism, I cannot see my way to admit that we really know anything historically about such a person.

In fact, we have to acknowledge that in the earliest form of the tradition Moses (Môsheh) was neither sign-worker nor priest, much less prophet, but a mythical, semi-divine personage, who acted, or had acted, as culture-hero and 'Heilbringer' to Israel. This we gather from the story so beautifully told in Ex. ii. The myth of the exposure of a divine or semi-divine infant is common among early peoples,² and the Israelite clans doubtless adopted the tale of the heroic helper and teacher very early. He seems to be closely allied both to the Messianic king,³ and to the Noah or Xisuthros of the Deluge,—in other words, to the two other great saviours or 'Heilbringer' of the Semites. In course of time, however, and not so late as one might suppose, leading Israelite priests began more and more to idealise the conception of the priest or legislator. Such a personage was now even more important to them than a deliverer, and through an irresistible creative impulse they first postulated his existence, and then dignified this ideal figure with a magnificent heroic connexion, so the priest and legist became identified with the semi-divine deliverer.

The next step must have been to form a clan to carry out the purposes ascribed to the ideal priest. The clan was known as the clan of Moses, to whom its members doubtless traced their descent (cp. Judg. xviii. 30, where read 'ben-Môsheh'). It may well have been a subdivision of the 'tribe' of Levi—the tribe which specially united religious enthusiasm to warlike energy.⁴ The higher priest-

¹ It is unsafe to quote for monotheistic tendencies in Palestine the difficult letter of Ahiyâmi (c. 1400 B.C.). See A. Ungnad's translation in Gressmann, *Texte und Bilder*, i. 129.

² *T. and B.* pp. 518-520.

³ I am glad of the support of H. Schneider, *Zwei Aufsätze*, 1909, p. 38: 'Mose ist ein Messias, am Anfang statt am Ende der Dinge.' No wonder that Moses was reckoned a type of the Christ.

⁴ *T. and B.* p. 524.

hood co-existed in this religious brotherhood with the lower. The work of the former was to report divine oracles, and give decisions in the name of God; that of the lower, to attend to the cultus, to guard the holy vessels, and if need arose, to fight to the death as the champions of their God. Moses represents symbolically the higher style of priest; Aaron, the lower. The God whom they both served was, strictly speaking, Yahweh-Yerahme'el, but it is sufficiently correct to call him Yahweh, for Yahweh who rose so high developed out of Yerahme'el (pp. 67 *f.*). Tradition (Ex. xviii. 12) states that Moses and Aaron, and (introduced by them?) all the elders of Israel, were admitted to religious communion by the priest-chieftain of a Midianite tribe which dwelt not far from Horeb. This is highly plausible, for Moses and Aaron, as their names indicate,¹ represent N. Arabian culture. We are told elsewhere (Ex. iii. 1 *f.*) of a theophany granted to Moses at Mount Horeb, which became sacred to Yahweh as it had been to Yerahme'el. Later on it was here that Yahweh, through Moses, endowed Israel with its fundamental laws.

The main object of the earlier theophany was to commission Moses to bring the benê Israel who were in Mišrim² (the N. Arabian Mušri), that they might worship God on 'this mountain,' and to make known this gracious purpose to his people. There, therefore, Moses appears in the two-fold capacity of a leader and a prophet. Nowhere in our text is he represented as a fighter, though in Ex. xxxii. 26 *f.*, the Levi-tribe ('all the benê Levi') is described as consisting of fearless warriors. But at any rate he is in some sense imagined as a deliverer; his magic staff,³ and his

¹ Aharôn probably comes from Ashḥaron, 'one belonging to Ashḥar (= Ashḥur); *T. and B.* p. 521. Mōsheh, like Musshi (= Mūshi), is from Mōsh, a collateral form of Ishma (= Ishmael). Note that Merari has only two sons—Maḥli and Musshi (1 Chr. vii. 4). These two names must be explained analogously; Maḥli is from Ḥamli = Yerahme'eli; Musshi must be from Shōmi, or some similar form. Possibly the unexplained god-name כְּמוֹשׁ (Kemosh) really comes from אֲכַמוֹשׁ (cp. אֲכַבְרִימוֹשׁ, *i.e.* אֲשַׁכְרִימוֹשׁ. Here אֲשַׁכְרִי = אֲשַׁחְרִי, and מוֹשׁ = יִשְׁמַעְאֵל. The god's name means Ashḥur-Ishmael.

² *T. and B.*, Introd. pp. xi.-xiii.; *D. and F.*, *passim*.

³ *E. Bib.*, 'Moses,' § 8; *T. and B.* p. 532; Schwally, *Kriegsaltertümer*, i. (1901), pp. 21 *f.*

Elijah-like gift of prayer are more than equivalent to martial weapons. It was inevitable that the rôle of leader or deliverer should be given him as the result of the fusion already referred to.

But there was yet another object hardly less important, because it reached beyond the immediate occasion of the theophany. It was brought to light by the inquiry of Moses, what name he should use in speaking to his people of his divine sender. Then 'God said to Moses, *Ehyeh asher ehyeh*: and he said, Thus shalt thou say to the benê Israel, Ehyeh has sent me to you' (Ex. iii. 14). Such a divine name as this, however, is quite unknown, whether in its longer or in its shorter form. The current explanations are so unsatisfactory, that I have had to try my chances once more with a keen textual criticism. My result has somewhat surprised me; *Ehyeh*, it appears, should be *ashhur*, and *asher* should be *asshur*. Ashhur and Asshur are equivalent; the latter is a gloss on the former, and the second *ehyeh*, i.e. Ashhur, is a dittograph. Probably the whole verse is rather overgrown; I mean that the reported divine saying was perhaps this, 'Tell the benê Israel, Ashhur has sent me to you.' Verse 15, in its *original* form, may have contained some further statement of 'E,' according to which the old name Ashhur or Asshur was now to be combined by worshippers with Yahweh.¹

I am sorry to part company here with many scholars who still adhere to the received text, and seek (but I think in vain) to explain it. Among them are the late Prof. Max Müller (so deeply interested in the history of religions) and Prof. Hugo Winckler. The former thought it possible that Ex. iii. 14 might have been influenced by Zoroastrianism;² the latter holds that the priests of Yahu at the sanctuary of Sinai had speculated on the divine nature, and developed a high doctrine of the Lord of Life, whom, by a modification of Yahu, they called Yahweh ('he who causes to be'). One would be glad if it were possible to establish either view. But the one is opposed by the difficulty of making Ex. iii. 14 post-exilic, and the other by its inherent

¹ *T. and B.* pp. 24, 530 f. On Ex. vi. 3 see *ibid.* p. 282.

² *Life of Max Müller*, ii. 279.

improbability ; N. Arabian priests had not the speculative faculty of their fellows of Heliopolis and Babylon.

Of the greater theophany we have (after analysing our sources) three well-known accounts.¹ I may notice here that only Moses is said to have approached God, the people (as not holy enough) remaining at the foot of the mountain. According to the original representation, the laws which Yahweh willed that Israel² should observe were written by him on two tables of stone and given on this occasion to Moses. It would seem that the laws referred to were cultual. I do not assert that there were no civil laws in existence when these cultual laws were codified, but that religious conservatism was still strong enough to obtain a unique position for laws pertaining to the cultus. How soon this exclusiveness was broken through we cannot tell, and at present the matter does not concern us, for the 'greater decalogue' was at any rate not in existence³ in the historical stage symbolised by the word 'Moses.' There is, however, another question which does concern us. Was there, or was there not, in this assumed historical stage, a clearly marked moral element in Israel's religious consciousness? If the Israelite clans (not all, but some of them) had really escaped in some wonderful way, explicable only as an intervention of the god of Horeb, from a very death in life among the Mišrites, then it is conceivable that they might at Horeb have adopted the cult of the god, and infused into their service a glow of grateful fidelity almost or quite unknown to the religion of other Semitic tribes.

But is the traditional account of the Exodus historical? We can indeed admit that Israelite clans may have been hospitably received into Mišrite (N. Arabian) territory, and that after a time the longing for novelty drove them to seek fresh, but still N. Arabian, homes for their semi-nomad population. It is not, however, impossible that they originally intended to return for a time to Mišrim, which, in fact, seems to have been an early tradition⁴ (Ex. iii. 21 f.,

¹ *E. Bib.*, 'Moses,' § 13.

² I use the word 'Israel' with all reserve.

³ *D. and F.* pp. 103 f.

⁴ On the peaceful Exodus, see *E. Bib.*, 'Moses,' § 11 ; 'Plagues (Ten),' § 5 ; *T. and B.* p. 545.

xi. 2 *f.*, xii. 35 *f.*). At some unknown date this simple tradition was fused with a pale form of a primeval eschatological myth. The 'plagues' are a version of the calamities which were to precede the Day of Yahweh,¹ and the drowning of the Miṣrites in the 'sea of Suph' corresponds to the mythic deluge in the past, and the general destruction which was to follow the 'plagues,' while the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan—the 'land flowing with milk and honey'—answers to the admission to the supernatural Paradise of the Israel of the later time. Moses, of course, represents the delivering Deity; he is properly a divine incarnation. The 'sea of Suph,' in which the Miṣrites are drowned, was originally Yaman-Sōphar,—a district to which some legendary battle had attached itself. Yam is a shortened form of Yaman (N. Arabia), and Suph of Sōphar, which is a clan-name of frequent recurrence under slightly different forms.

The result of much pondering in my own case is this: that there may have been a distinct moral element in Israel's religion in the 'Mosaic' age, but that its origin goes back to much earlier times. Behind the supposed deliverance of the Israelites from the land of Miṣrim, and the supposable deliverances which the Kenite friends of Israel may have referred to with equal gratitude, there is the great deliverance of youthful mankind from the troubles and from the perils incident to the primitive age. The truest deliverer was, in fact, the culture-bringer—he who taught mankind the way to get fire, all the useful arts, and especially the secrets of agriculture. In course of time the benefactor, who was originally a specially gifted man, became a god, and received from his worshippers the heaped-up treasures of grateful love. That is surely the explanation of the growth of all cults, including that of Yahweh; that is also the germ of corporate morality which had already sprung up in the Israel of the 'Mosaic' age.

One must, however, admit that some nations were more favoured by circumstances than others. No culture-bringer could put the Israelite clans on a level with the Egyptians,

¹ Cp. Zimmern, *KAT*⁽³⁾, pp. 392 *f.*; Jensen, *Moses Jesus Paulus*, pp. 15 *f.*

the Babylonians, the N. Aramaeans, the Canaanites, the S. Arabians. And the relative tardiness of Israelite culture involved a corresponding tardiness of Israelite morality. Whether this was a real disadvantage may be questioned. It was easier for Israel to profit by the experience of its neighbours; at any rate it was easier for the elect spirits—represented by Moses—to do so. Those elect spirits were not original. Samuel and Elijah—the traditional counterparts of Moses—were not original. Who the men of thought as well as of action were we know not. They must have existed, but history has been unkind to them. Moses, Samuel, and Elijah were not the real predecessors of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah.

But let us return to one of the sweetest *fioretti* in the Old Testament (which reminds us of Matt. ii.)—the story of the wonderful preservation of the child Moses. I would venture to include it among the three mythic episodes in Moses' life. The second would be Yahweh's speaking to the mediator Moses 'face to face, as a man speaks to his friend' (Ex. xxxiii. 11, cp. Num. xii. 8, Deut. xxxiv. 10), or, as is elsewhere said, Moses' being placed in a cleft of *the* rock (cp. v. 21), that he might see at least Yahweh's 'back-parts' (Ex. xxxiii. 22 *f.*). The third seems to me to underlie the story of the hero's mysterious burial¹ (Deut. xxxiv. 6). Elijah's life, rightly understood, is remarkably parallel. Nothing is told us of his ancestry because nothing is known. He appears suddenly and inexplicably like a meteor. Surely his infancy cannot have been quiet like that of ordinary men; he must have had mythic enemies. In mid-career he is summoned to meet Yahweh on Horeb, and, standing in the entrance of '*the* cave' (1 K. xix. 9, 13), receives a message, not of private but of public concernment. And in the closing scene, like Moses, he passes with dry feet through the waters, and, as perhaps it was stated in the earliest form, he has his perfect consummation, being taken up into heaven in a whirlwind, in a chariot of fire with horses of fire (2 K. ii. 11). It is, I think, extremely probable that a similar tale was told, once upon a time, of Elijah's legendary predecessor. An early feeling of this

¹ *E. Bib.*, 'Moses,' § 19.

sort seems to have produced the apocryphal book called the *Assumption of Moses*; ¹ it is apparent also in the Transfiguration-story, Mark ix. In fact, the two legends—of Moses and of Elijah—are interdependent. I may refer to the quotation from Renan in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 3217, n. 3, and also to the section on Elijah (end).

At the same time it would be wrong to suppose that the Moses and Elijah of primitive story were merely giants of mythology. As transformed by most competent representatives of the choicest part of the community, they exhibit not only attractive qualities in their dealings with men (Moses' generosity and feeling for his people, Elijah's compassion), but astonishing examples of an absorbing passion for the indwelling God. The portraits of these God-men may be imaginative, but such creations of the imagination are precious heirlooms which religious humanity will never cease to venerate.

. . . Through such souls alone
God stooping shows sufficient of His light
For us i' the dark to rise by.²

2. BALAAM SECTION

The hero of the next legend is not an Israelite. Originally he was not even favourable to Israel. It is true, our best commentator on Numbers considers that Balaam is but 'an accident, and not of the essence of the story.'³ I would myself rather say that the story has several objects, and that to one of these Balaam is essential. Partly, no doubt, it supplies a fresh proof that Yahweh has both the will and the power to defend his people Israel from all assailants, but partly also it shows that Israel's God (the true Yahweh) is opposed to the practice of divination, and sets before those who would penetrate the future 'a more excellent way.' In fact, Balaam, at the outset, is no better than a foil to the greatest of prophets—Moses, but before

¹ See Charles, *Assumption of Moses* (1897).

² R. Browning, *The Ring and the Book* (Pompilia).

³ Gray, *Numbers* (1903), p. 318.

he passes from the scene he is on a level (such was the divine will) with the greatest Israelitish prophets of the age of the narrators. Thus a mere diviner was converted into a prophet of a high order. No small achievement this, for divination was rampant in N. Arabia, and even prophecy, owing to a spirit of conservatism, could not easily shoot up to its proper height. This, however, is sufficiently treated in the Introduction, which shows, I hope, that I have every wish not to underestimate the better elements in N. Arabian religion.

Let us first observe well the setting of the legend. We are told in Num. xxi. 25, that 'Israel dwelt in all the cities of the Amorites, in Heshbon, and in all the towns thereof.' It was natural enough that the Moabites should be apprehensive of such troublesome neighbours, and that their king should call in the most celebrated magician of the time to counteract the presumed plots of the Israelites (Num. xxii. 2-6). According to Hebrew tradition this magician was called Bil'am, or as we, following the Greek, prefer to say, Balaam. It seemed to the Moabite king that Balaam, by his powerful spells, could easily annihilate Moab's enemies. For a man's curse obsesses his victim,¹ how much more when the curser is a Balaam! The Priestly Writer (or one of his school) goes even further, and asserts it to have been due to the 'counsel of Balaam' that the Moabite women seduced the Israelites to participate in the rites of Baal-Peor (Num. xxxi. 16; cp. xxi. 5 ff.), and Gressmann² accepts this as the original form of representation. To me, I confess, it seems more like a later writer's uncharitable fiction. Had it really been the original tradition, I cannot think that the early narrators would have cared to idealise such a hateful person. Among his own people, too, Balaam must certainly have been an ideal personage, in fact, like Solomon, Ethan, Job, and Luḳman,³ the typical wise man. And 'wise man' does not merely mean 'proverb-writer' (Prov. i.

¹ Crawley, *Idea of the Soul*, p. 282; for Semitic parallels, see Gray, *Numbers*, pp. 327 f.

² *Schriften des A. T. in Auswahl*, p. 58.

³ Ewald, Ed. Meyer, and others, identify Balaam with Luḳman, the Semitic Æsop, to whom Mohammed refers, as taught by God, in the Koran (Sur. xxxi. 11-19).

6); in Balaam's age 'wisdom' included, at any rate, poetry,¹ fable-writing,² and divination.³ Possibly the story of the ass may have arisen from the tradition that Balaam, like Æsop, was a fabulist. May we add that he was a king, and identify Bil'am with Bela, son of Be'or, who heads the list of the kings of Aram (MT, Edom) in Gen. xxxvi. 32⁴? The Hebrew narrative rather favours a comparison with those Arabian *kāhins* (priests and soothsayers), who belonged to distinguished families, and acquired their privileges by inheritance.⁵ Certainly the respect with which Balaam was treated favours this. Skilled as the diviners of Moab may have been, none of them can have represented a family of such antiquity, high connexions, and prestige as he. Stories must have been current, even when *v.* 6 *b* was written, of the wonderful successes of this arch-diviner of whom it could be said:

I know that he whom thou blessest, is blessed,
And he whom thou cursest, is cursed;

and a faint echo of these is even traceable in Job iii. 5, 8, where we should no doubt read 'Let the priests of Yaman⁶ terrify it,' and

Let the cursers of Yaman execrate it,
That are skilled to stir up Leviathan.

So the messengers came to Balaam, and communicated their errand. The result, according to one of the two forms of the Balaam story which have come down to us⁷ (J), is sufficiently remarkable. The strangeness lies, not in the fact that, whether because the fee was high, or because of his sympathy with Moab, Balaam undertook to go to the land of Moab, but in a startling experience that he had on

¹ So Vergil is to Dante 'il savio duca' (*Purg.* xxi. 75; cp. *Inf.* iv. 73, viii. 7; *Purg.* xxiii. 8). An echo of Oriental usage.

² See 1 K. iv. 33 *b*.

³ For N. Arabian wisdom, see *T. and B.* pp. 40 *ff*.

⁴ See *ibid.* p. 480.

⁵ Holzinger, *Num.* p. 113; cp. Wellh., *Ar. Heid.*², pp. 130 *ff*.

⁶ See on Hos. xi. 10; *T. and B.* p. 6, n. 3, Yaman = Yerahme'el.

⁷ I have mainly followed Bewer, 'Literary Problems of the Balaam story,' *A J Th.*, April 1905, pp. 238-262.

his journey. For Yahweh, from whom nothing is hidden, was aware of the project, and in his character of Mal'ak-Yahweh (*i.e.* the god who comes down on occasion from heaven to help his worshippers, and who fights for Israel) stood with drawn sword in the way. If Balaam's ass had not thrice refused to go on, and if Yahweh (= Mal'ak-Yahweh) had not opened the mouth of the ass and uncovered the eyes of his master, the man would have paid the penalty of his unwisdom with his life (Num. xxii. 33).

The story is full of suggestion. It interests the critic as showing that J belonged to a circle more disposed to make use of primitive folk-lore material than E, *i.e.* that J is presumably older than E. It also appeals to the anthropologist and the historian, because it illustrates, not indeed the Greek tradition of an ass-headed god worshipped by the Israelites,¹ but the Arabian, and, indeed, the primitive belief that animals were more sensitive than men to spiritual Presences.² We may refer here to the Chinese notion that the ass is not alarmed at the sight of a spirit as a horse would be.³ As for the speaking of the ass, we may parallel it by the speaking cow in the Egyptian Tale of Two Brothers, the speaking lamb in the Egyptian prophecy (p. 9), the speaking serpent in Genesis, the speaking horse in Hom. *Il.* xix. 404, and the speaking ass in W. Africa.⁴ Of course it was not the scientific interest that impelled our narrator to adopt it; rather he wished to inculcate the importance of having the inner eyes divinely opened. To those who deserve or specially need it, God grants this wondrous opening,—to the unhappy Hagar, for instance (Gen. xxi. 19), and the sorely-tried Abraham (Gen. xxii. 13). On the other hand he also brings blindness upon those who have offended him (2 K. vi. 18-20; cp. Isa. vi. 10). Balaam himself has not always been blind to heavenly presences; at least, the other narrator speaks of Elohim 'coming' to Balaam (xxii. 9, 20). But Yahweh has determined to bring out the unwisdom of the diviner in

¹ Against S. Reinach, *Orpheus*, Eng. transl. p. 182.

² Wellh., *Ar. Heid.*², p. 151, with n. 7.

³ Giles, *Chinese-Eng. Dict.*, p. 667, col. 1, in Ball, *P.S.B.A.* xxxii. 72.

⁴ So Dr. Tylor has informed me on the authority of Mr. A. B. Ellis.

thinking that he could curse Israel, and did this by making him unsensitive to Mal'ak-Yahweh's appearance, and in this way inferior to the ass on which he rode.

Yet this fundamentally unwise representative of what N. Arabia thinks perfect wisdom (cp. Ezek. xxviii. 3, 12¹) is on the point of becoming a true prophet. Only a short time ago he had been willing to accept a rich reward for undertaking to curse the special people of Yahweh, in spite of the fact that his own people, and probably that of Moab also, worshipped Yahweh.² Surely, as long as he was in this state of mind he could be no true *nābī*, no true spokesman of his God. But the spirit of Yahweh can change all that, though the change involves nothing less than Balaam's inner transformation (cp. Saul, 1 S. x. 6). Mal'ak-Yahweh, therefore, permits him to continue his journey with the messengers on condition that he only utters the word that Mal'ak-Yahweh gives him (xxii. 35, which, however, has been harmonised in diction with vv. 20 f.). There is no longer any question of Balaam's being hired to curse Israel³; what becomes of the 'filthy lucre' is unimportant; he who was but a hireling is now privileged to place his wonderful gift of poetic speech at the service of the God of Israel. So he turns his inner gaze on the settled Israel of the future. Omens are needless (xxiv. 1), for he knows now that he has to bless; in other words, the theory of spells has broken down. And as he gazes he falls into an ecstasy, and sounds which he interprets afterwards pour from his lips. He has become a *nābī*. According to one of the narrators this interpreted oracle is reproduced in xxiv. 3-9. Whether any part of the other oracles in chap. xxiv. is derived from the same narrative it is not within my scope to consider.

The other narrative (E)—see xxii. 7-21⁴—differs in

¹ *Šor* is the short for *Miššor*, i.e. the N. Arabian Mušri. See *Crit. Bib. ad loc.*; *T. and B.* p. 14.

² We shall see presently that Yahweh was worshipped by N. Arabians as well as by Israelites.

³ J, as we appear to have it, makes no mention of Balaam's fee; the fee, however, must be presupposed (cp. 1 S. ix. 7).

⁴ As Bewer points out, there is no sufficient evidence that xxii. 7-21 is a compilation. It belongs as a whole probably to E.

some notable respects from that which has been engaging our attention. For instance, nothing, apparently, is said in J about Balak king of Moab; the elders of Moab and of Midian¹ are alone spoken of. Then as to Balaam himself. According to J he is like some ancient Arabian *kāhin*, who decides what is the will of God by omens; but, according to E, Yahweh appears to Balaam by night (xxii. 8-12) as he might to any Israelite prophet. It is also J (if I mistake not) who introduces the divine Being called Mal'ak-Yahweh, and who makes such a singular use of the primitive belief about animals, no trace of which is to be found in E. On the whole, however, J and E agree in the introduction of the story; the facts, that is, are the same. It is after the introduction that they differ; J gives but one embassy from Moab, and then makes Balaam saddle his ass and go towards the land of Moab, with the strange result that we know, while E relates the arrival of two embassies and the reception of two divine oracles in the night, the second of which was followed by Balaam's departure with the princes (=elders) of Moab. Balaam comes out fairly well in the latter narratives (xxii. 7-21). More especially the answer of Balaam to the second embassy of Balak deserves quoting here: 'If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold I cannot transgress the word of Yahweh my God, to do a little thing or a great.' That certainly is just what a later Israelite prophet might have said—just what that heroic prophet, Micaiah ben Imlah, did say to those who interfered with his freedom of speech (2 K. xxii. 14). And yet, even here, there is some strangeness, for already (see v. 12) an express declaration of Yahweh has reached Balaam, 'Thou shalt not curse the people, for they are blessed.' How came Balaam to admit a second embassy within his gates? Did he think that by persisting in his efforts he might induce Yahweh to change his mind? Probably this is the right explanation. It is inconsistent, certainly, with xxiii. 19, but the poem to which that passage belongs is later than the prose-narratives.²

¹ Were there still Midianites in the highland of Moab (see Gen. xxxvi. 35)? Or is Midian the older reading? See Winckler, *Gesch. Isr.* i. 4-7.

² So Gressmann.

At any rate the second prose-oracle reported by E (xxii. 20) permits Balaam to go, but warns him to reject all self-regarding thoughts, and look out for the 'word' which God will give him. On reaching the border of Moab he is met by the king, to whom he imparts the imperative warning he has received. Further on a sacrificial feast is held, and portions (cp. 1 S. ix. 23 f.) are sent to Balaam and the princes that are with him. The next day Balak takes Balaam to Bamoth-Baal, 'that thence he may see the utmost part of the people' (xxii. 41), *i.e.* that the expected curse may proceed straight to its goal, and do its work. This reminds a student of Babylonian divination that diviners were specially careful in selecting the places for their operations. One may think, too, of the Irish cursing-stones, and of the chapel of Notre Dame de la Haine, near Tréguier in Brittany. But here we pause. The two poetic prophecies in chap. xxiii. which belong, or were joined on, to E, and their framework, will be referred to presently, as soon as a number of textual and other questions have been critically treated—questions on the solution of which not only the due comprehension of the Balaam narratives and prophecies, but the history of Israelite culture (including religion) must in some degree depend.

The first question which demands our attention relates to the names of God. Is it correct that, as an ingenious and very confident writer¹ asserts, the heavenly Being with whom Balaam has to do was originally, throughout the narratives, called Yahweh? And is it wrong to infer from 'Yahweh my God' (xxii. 18), and indeed from the whole story, that Balaam was a worshipper of Yahweh? It may be well here to mention the relevant textual facts. In xxii. 8 Balaam's God is Yahweh; in vv. 9-12 he is Elohim. In v. 13 Yahweh returns. Verse 18 gives 'Yahweh my (Balaam's) God'; v. 19, Yahweh; vv. 20, 22 a, Elohim; vv. 22 f.-27, 31 a, 32, 34, 35, Mal'ak-Yahweh; vv. 28, 31 a, Yahweh; v. 38, Elohim. In chap. xxiii. vv. 3, 5, 12, 16, 17, 26, give Yahweh; v. 4, Elohim. In chap. xxiv., vv. 1, 11, 13 (*bis*), Yahweh; v. 2, *ru^ah Elohim*. It is true, Sam., **¶**, Pesh. do not always agree with the MT. as to the

¹ Gressmann in *Die Schriften des A. T. in Auswahl*, p. 60.

particular divine name.¹ But the variation of the names can undeniably be established from any of the transmitted forms of text.

And now as to the significance of this variation and other points. May we say, with Prof. Gressmann, that when, by an ancient Hebrew writer, a deity was represented as acting, the narrator, out of sheer *naïveté*, called him Yahweh, not considering that other peoples had other names for their gods (Gressmann compares Gen. iv. 16)?² To me this appears contrary to sound criticism. How can the Hebrew narrators of the Balaam-story have been ignorant of the religious position of their hero, and what sense has the story unless Yahweh (= Elohim) really means Yahweh? Surely we must find out some theory which will account better for the facts. The same scholar continues thus: 'At a later time, when reflection awoke, and the narrative had to do with foreign peoples, the more general and abstract expression "God" was substituted for "Yahweh."' One would have thought that when 'reflection awoke,' narrators would rather have thought of designating a foreign god by some form of his true name (*e.g.* Kemosh, Merodak, etc.). And in spite of Gressmann, it is not at all certain that 'Elohim' originally had the abstract meaning, 'the Godhead.'³ Nor are these all the errors into which this critic and his followers have, I think, fallen. He repeats the old theory that the expression Mal'ak-Yahweh, interpreted 'messenger of Yahweh,' arose in an age of intellectual refinement, when people began to take serious offence at Yahweh's being made too human. It is by no means certain, however, as we shall see presently, that Mal'ak-Yahweh is the original form of the expression; the contexts appear to me to show that the personage so designated was not 'a servant who fulfils the commands of his lord,' but divine.

¹ See Gray, *Numbers*, pp. 310 *f.*

² Prof. Gressmann thinks that the Kainites themselves derived their tribal mark, not from Yahweh, but from another god, 'as the Israelites certainly knew.' That is an arbitrary assumption. There is good reason to think that Yahweh was known both to the Israelites and to the Kainites.

³ אֱלֹהִים is properly a corruption of יְהוָה, and means 'God.' Then it was taken for a plural, and explained of the divine Company. See *T. and B.* pp. 69, 314.

I will only add a few more lines of criticism. How can this clever scholar venture to say that Mal'ak-Yahweh (originally, he assures us, Yahweh) is depicted in xxii. 22-35, not as a kindly being, but as a wild demon? A comprehensive study of the occurrences of Mal'ak-Yahweh is surely opposed to this statement. Mal'ak-Yahweh could no doubt be provoked (Ex. xxiii. 21), and then he would be stern and terrible; but when treated properly, was he not the most faithful of friends, who took delight in showing compassion, both to his human worshippers and even to their domestic animals? Only two proof-passages are adduced by Gressmann, and these he appears to misunderstand.¹ The truth surely is that Mal'ak-Yahweh is not the original form of the name, but comes by an early redactional manipulation from Yerahme'el-Yahweh.² At a comparatively early period offence must have been taken by progressive Yahwists at the combination of the name Yahweh with that of the great N. Arabian god (Yerahme'el), and so, as in other similar cases, the objectionable name was gently transformed.³ The most common form in the earlier books is Mal'ak; in Daniel and other late writings, however, we find Mika'el (which, equally with Mal'ak, comes from a corrupt form of Yerahme'el); in this case the name goes together with the office of prince-angel. The evolution of Mikael is extremely interesting, though not more so, of course, than that of the antithetic being called Belial.⁴ Throughout it the old conception of the war-god remains; Mal'ak-Yahweh in our Balaam-story (cp. Josh. v. 13) has a drawn sword in his hand, *i.e.* he is the divine general like Mika'el in Daniel and the Apocalypse.

The divine name, generally read Melek, probably has a similar origin. Even if, for instance, we render xxiii. 21 *b*, 'and the shouting for Melek is in him,' we are not to say

¹ The passages are Gen. xxxii. 25 *ff.*, Ex. iv. 24 *ff.* The former narrative, however, has nothing wildly demonic about it; it is a wrestling match, while the latter is textually corrupt. See *T. and B.* pp. 398 *ff.*, 532 *ff.*

² Cp. מַלְאֲכִי, Gen. iv. 18; מְרַחֵם, Gen. xxii. 21, and see *T. and B.* p. 279 (n. 2).

³ *T. and B.* pp. 58, 60, 277, 280, 291-294.

⁴ See p. 63; *T. and B.* pp. 53 *f.*

that Melek is a mere title of Israel's God Yahweh (derived from the Canaanites who had a god Melek),¹ but that מֶלֶךְ, like מֶלֶאךָ, comes from יִרְחֻמָּאֵל. Here it seems to be merely a sportive alteration, though, of course, the altered name has an appropriateness of its own.

So then, in course of time, when the Israelites had outgrown the idea of a divine duad or triad, Yerahme'el-Yahweh became Mal'ak-Yahweh. When, however, the original Balaam-story took shape, we can hardly doubt that the expression was still felt to be a compound of the names of two gods. Yahweh was the directing God, and the divine Company was called Elohim.² In the Balaam-story, however, it is Yahweh whom Balaam himself expressly designates 'my God' (xxii. 18), just like Elijah in the legend (1 K. xvii. 20 f.), and Isaiah in the narrative of his meeting with Ahaz (Isa. vii. 13). Why, in fact, should there not be worshippers of Yahweh in the southern Aram to which (see p. 88) Balaam belonged, just as Elijah, according to the legend, found one in the southern Sidon (see 1 K. xvii. 10, cp. 12)? Among the other non-Israelite worshippers of Yahweh in S. Palestine and N. Arabia,³ referred to in the earlier narratives, are Laban the Arammite (Gen. xxxi. 24); Abimelek, king of Gerar (Gen. xx. 3); Jethro⁴ the Midianite (Ex. xviii. 9); the Gibeonites (Josh. ix., 2 S. xxi.); Doeg the Edomite (1 S. xxi. 7); Uriah the Hittite (2 S. xi. 11); Ittai the Gittite (2 S. xv. 21). Balak, king of Moab, may also be included, for the narrator certainly implies that Balak acknowledges Yahweh as his God. Once, indeed (xxiii. 27), Balak is made to use 'Elohim,' but this is merely a collective name for the members of the divine Company whose leader is Yahweh.

The next question relates to the home of Balaam, and the significance of his name. The opening distich of the first of Balaam's poetic prophecies (according to E) runs thus :

¹ So Gressmann.

² *T. and B.* pp. 16, 279, 292.

³ *Ibid.* p. 314.

⁴ יִתְרוֹ probably comes from אַשְׁתּוֹר, Ashtor (= Ashtar). This is a regional name (*T. and B.* pp. 241, 500).

From Aram¹ did Balak fetch me,
Moab's king from the mountains of Rekem (xxiii. 7);

the MT. certainly has Kēdem, but Kēdem is not a regional name, and in such cases as the present should be always corrected into Rekem² (= Yarham, a region of N. Arabia). It is true this correction here seems inconsistent with xxii. 5, Dt. xxiii. 5, where 'Pethor (פֶּתוֹר) by the river' (or, as Dt., 'of Aram-naharaim') is represented as Balaam's native city. But the statement (strictly, the double statement) in Num. xxii. 5 requires careful examination. Since the time of Dr. E. Hincks, it has been customary to identify Pethor with a place called Pitru,³ situated at the point where the Euphrates is joined by the Sagur (Sajur).⁴ Unfortunately Pethor would in Assyrian be Pitāru, while Pitru would in Hebrew be Pether (Pāthār).⁵ As to Aram-naharaim in Dt., we must interpret the first part of this compound in harmony with Num. xxiii. 7, where (see above) Aram is = Rekem (*i.e.* N. Arabia), while 'naharaim' may refer to the two best known streams, unless, indeed, we should read 'neharim,' *i.e.* 'the streams.' By appending 'naharaim' or 'neharim' the writer of Dt. xxiii. 5 means apparently to point to the southern Aram, which must have possessed several torrent-streams.⁶ Clearly, therefore, 'Pethor' is a corrupt form of

¹ Hommel, Winckler, Marquart, Baentsch, Ed. Meyer, Gressmann, would read 'from Edom.' But the traditional seat of what was called wisdom was not confined to Edom; the whole of N. Arabia was famous for it (*T. and B.* 40, 61 f.).

² *T. and B.* pp. 100 (foot), 200 (foot), 353 f., 372; *E. Bib.* 'Rekem,' 'Sela.' Ed. Meyer (*Die Isr.* p. 388, n. 3) misses the only possible explanation of Rekem, but, at any rate, sees that the place-name Rekem (or Petra) is identical with the Midianite personal name Rekem in Num. xxxi. 8 (= Josh. xiii. 21). He adds that רבע, חור, צור, אי are quite worthless, whereas a keener criticism shows that צור is the short for פְּצוֹר, and חור for אֲשַׁחֲרִי, while רבע is, no doubt, from ערב, and אי from אֵיל = אֵיל, *i.e.* ירחפֿאל.

³ See inscription of Ašur-našir-pal, Gressmann, *Texte u. Bilder*, i. 109.

⁴ See *E. Bib.*, 'Pethor' (Cheyne).

⁵ Marquart, *Fundamente*, p. 74. C. Niebuhr (*Gesch.* i. 295), however, agrees with me, though he still supposes that Pathros is = Upper Egypt. This I have shown to be impossible, but Niebuhr has, at any rate, taken a step forward which will some day be generally recognised.

⁶ *T. and B.* pp. 262 f., 343.

some well-known N. Arabian place-name or regional, not Ephrath, but most probably Pathros (פֶּתְרוֹס, Isa. xi. 15), commonly supposed to mean Upper Egypt, but much more probably (when a sufficiently wide view is taken) a N. Arabian district.¹ It will be remembered that a people called Pathrusim appears in Gen. x. 14 among the sons of Mišraim, a regional which, as is pointed out elsewhere,² should be read Mišrim (*i.e.* the N. Arabian Mušri). The *nāhār* (stream) by which Pethor, or rather Pathros, was situated was one of the *neharim* of the southern Aram. According to Marquart (who also places Pethor in the south), the stream intended is the נַחַל מִצְרַיִם. This phrase, like most critics, he interprets 'the torrent of Egypt,' *i.e.* the Wādy el-'Arīsh; a better rendering would be 'the torrent of Mišrim.' The 'naḥal Mišrim' may, indeed, perhaps be referred to, but the stream of Ephrath or Perāth, or that of Shihōr (Ashḥur), or of Yarḥon, are also possible.³ A similar explanation should be given of 'Rehoboth by the stream' in Gen. xxxvi. 37.⁴ I need only add that this account of Pethor was already given in *T. and B.* p. 40 (n. 3), and that Hommel (*Aufsätze*, p. 288), as well as Marquart, also advocates a southern Pethor; Hommel also thinks that it was one of the places called Fāthûr, near the land of Edom. One must at least admire the resourcefulness of this clever scholar.

To me it seems to have been fully made out that Balaam was a N. Arabian. His home was called, not Pethor, but Pathros. This seems to be a literary corruption of Sophereth,⁵ which one may venture to identify with the southern Šarephath (E.V. Zarephath), where Elijah is said to have found a fellow-worshipper of Yahweh. That Balaam practised the cult of Yahweh we know, and it is pardonable to be struck by the coincidence just mentioned. We know, too (at least the legend implies this), that Balak also revered Yahweh, and it is evident that no great distance can have separated the homes of Balaam and of Balak. Thus we see more and more clearly (even without

¹ *T. and B.* pp. 155 f., 159 (n. 2), 189 f., 436.

² *Ibid.* pp. 171 ff.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 262 f., 343.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 431.

⁵ See *E. Bib.*, 'Sophereth.'

the help of Babylonia) that the worship of Yahweh was not confined to the Israelites.

This very natural reflection, however, must not be allowed to entice us into a digression. It seems at first sight as if, beside the statement in Num. xxii. 5 about Pethor, there were a competing statement 'to the land of the benê Ammon'; this, at least, is the reading of Sam., Pesh., and Vg.; MT. and (virtually) **Ⲭ** have, not 'Ammon, but 'ammo ('his people'). If we accept it, we shall naturally suppose that E and J differ, and that the former represents Balaam as coming from the southern, and the latter rather from the eastern border of Canaan. That the latter view is incorrect will be obvious; the Ammonites were not famous for their religious lore, and their territory was to the north of that of Moab, which does not suit the description of Balaam's movements in that region. But how strange that these two great writers (E and J) should differ so absolutely! And how came the latter writer to think of locating Balaam's home in Ammon? Gressmann¹ suggests that J may have misunderstood the phrase, 'the mountains of the east' (Num. xxiii. 7), which he may have supposed to refer to the Ammonite highlands. But how could he have supposed this with 'Aram' in the parallel line? Surely the double statement in Num. xxii. 5 cannot have been inconsistent in the original form of the text; there must be some textual corruption. Nor need we remain long in hesitation. Both E and J, or the schools which these letters symbolise, knew well that the great centre of divination in the south was Aram. We have no choice, then, but to read, for בני עמור, בני ארם, *i.e.* either בני אדם, or better, בני ארם (*D. and F.* p. 171).

Next, as to the significance of the name Bil'am (בלעם) ben Be'or (בעור בן בעל). Like the Palestinian place-name ירלעם (Judg. i. 27, etc.), Bil'am is most probably an expansion of בלע (see Gen. xxxvi. 32, xiv. 2). This word is a popular modification of בעל, which is a clan-name (cp. xxvi. 38; Gen. xlv. 21) produced out of a fragment of Ishmael or Yerahme'el.² It is very remarkable that both

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 58.

² See *T. and B.* pp. 238, 430. We also meet with בעל as a place-

Bil'am in Num. xxii. 4 and Bela' in Gen. xxxvi. 32 are called sons of Be'or (בעור). This is primarily not a personal but a regional name. As in many other such names the initial ב is a fragment of אב or עב,¹ *i.e.* ערב, while עור is probably a curtailed form of עשור = אשור. 'Be'or' will therefore mean 'Arabia of Asshur' (cp. on Hos. v. 13, where 'Arabia' and 'Asshur' are parallel); it may be the same as 'Pe'or' (פער). Parallel are Par'osh (Ezra ii. 3; Neh. vii. 8), commonly explained 'the flea-clan' (!), but really from 'Arab-Asshur,'² and Pashhur (1 Chr. ix. 12,³ etc.) from 'Arab-Ashhur.'⁴ On the N. Arabian region called Asshur, I may refer to *D. and F.*, Introd. pp. xi f., xxix.

The significance, therefore, of the great diviner's name is that he came of a thoroughly Yerahme'elite⁴ or Ashhurite stock, and that of the true name of his home is that he had not migrated northwards, like so many of his race, but remained in his ancestral haunts; he was, indeed, presumably of an ancient priestly family. And now as to his would-be employer, Balak ben Šippor (בלק בן צפור). Will *this* name, too, yield up its secret on the application of better methods? Something, surely, must be done; we cannot rest satisfied with the time-honoured explanation, 'desolater.'⁵ Well, we know that Balak was a worshipper of Yahweh; it is only a Hebrew narrator who tells us this, but there is no reason why we should not credit it. We know, too, that among the attested corruptions of ירחמאל are רכרו (Ex. xv. 1), בכרו (Gen. ix. 15, xxii. 21; 1 Chr. ii. 42), קררו (Hos. vii. 6, see note), all of which come from רככול, with which compare רכבאל in the Hadad and Panammu inscriptions.⁶ And we can hardly want reminding that proper names have a tendency to get abbreviated; expansion is, indeed, also

name in 1 Chr. iv. 33, and virtually as the name of a king of Tyre in inscriptions of Esar-haddon and Ašur-bani-pal (cp. Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 21).

¹ *T. and B.* pp. 237, 571.

² Note ㉔'s reading *φαρασσουρ*, and see *T. and B.* p. 541, with n. 3.

³ In 1 Chr. *l.c.* his son is called in MT. Yeroḥam, *i.e.* Yarḥam; Yerahme'el and Asshur are often combined. See *T. and B.*, index, 'Asshur-Yerahme'el.'

⁴ Let us remember the N. Arabian home of divination.

⁵ König (*Lex.*), 'he (God) has destroyed.'

⁶ *T. and B.* pp. 28, 558.

possible, but is very much less frequent. It follows that, most probably, בלק is shortened from בלקר (a form which can actually be traced in Isa. xlv. 1),¹ i.e. ירחמאל = כרמל. Less probably we might trace it to כלב = כלב (2 S. iii. 3) = רכבאל. The great racial name Yerahme'el took various forms in different places or districts. And what as to צפור? Surely 'bird' is not suitable. Moses had a Kushite (N. Arabian) wife called צפורה. One expects this, as well as her father's name, to be an ethnic. And here is another point. In Num. xxiii. 14 we meet with a Moabite locality called 'the field, or highland, of צפim.' Surely this should be צ[ר]פim. May not צרף or צרפי be an ethnic, and this be the origin, not only of צרפת, but of צפור and צפורה? If so, Balak was at once a Yerahme'elite and a Şarephite. There can have been no great difference, if any, between the two names, as indeed we see from another (much later) passage in which Şarephites and Yerahme'elites are combined, if a suggestion of mine in *E. Bib.* is correct.² On the kindred ethnics 'Şarephites' and 'Sarephites,' see below, and *T. and B.* 523; *D. and F.* 169.

To hold this view is not to suppose that Balak was not by birth a Moabite. It is very possible that the regional name מואב (Mo'ab) implies that it was anciently regarded as part of the wide Yerahme'elite region. With אב as a prefix (often shortened into ב) we are familiar; it is less common as an affix (cp. אליאב), but here we find it. אמו is for אמו (cp. on עמו, Num. xxii. 5). The origin of the name is ארם ערב, 'Aram of Arabia.'³ The names of localities are in

¹ The traditional text has בל קים נבו. But the words may be wrongly divided. Read רחמל שנאב, i.e. Yerahme'el Yishman-Arab. The second word (i.e. the compound) is a gloss on the former. Cp. Sanibu, the name of an Ammonite king.

² In Neh. iii. 31, בן הצרפי should be rendered 'son of the Şarephite,' and in v. 32 הצרפים 'the Şarephites.' רכלים (v. 32) should be רכמלים, 'Yerahme'elites'; cp. above on בלקר and n. 1 see *E. Bib.*, 'Merchant.' Note too (1) that in 1 Chr. ii. 55 ספרים means, not 'scribes,' but 'Şarephites' (צרפים = סרפים, just as ספרת = צרפת); they dwell, not in Jabeş, but in Šib'on, i.e. in Ishmael (N. Arabia). Read בצבען. Also (2) that we have now the true key to Kiryath-sepher (vowels apart), and to Sephar rak (so read), Gen. x. 30. Also to Şophar, Job ii. 11, etc.

³ *T. and B.* pp. 308 f. א in names represents ארם; note אחיאם = Ashhur-Aram.

harmony with this. (1) עִיר מוֹאב (Ir-Mo'ab) should be עִיר מוֹאב, *i.e.* 'Arabia of Moab.' Cp. Isa. xix. 18 *b*, where read עִיר אֲשַׁחֲרִי, *i.e.* 'Arabia of Ashhur.' (2) קִרְיַת חֲצוֹת (Kiryath Hūsoth), or, rather, קִרְיַת חֲצֵרוֹת (Kir. Haseeroth) should be קַפְתוֹר אֲשַׁחֲרִי, 'Kaphtor of Ashhart.'¹ Cp. Kaphtor of the Ethbalites (so read), Isa. xi. 14, and see on כְּרִית, 1 K. xvii. 3 (Elijah section). (3) בְּמוֹת בַּעַל (Bamoth Baal), 'open-air sanctuaries dedicated to Baal' (= Yerahme'el).² (4) שְׂמִי (precedes), xxiii. 3. A *crux interpretum*. R. D. Wilson³ and S. Daiches have tried for an Assyriological solution, but vainly; and not less futile is it to seek help from שְׂמִי (see Baentsch). לְנִשְׁפִּיר is suggested by Kuenen, but is not quite a satisfactory supplement. Surely שְׂמִי ought to be a place-name. Probably שְׂמִי, like שְׂרִי (Am. iv. 10) and נִפְשִׁי (sometimes), comes from יִשְׁמָן, *i.e.* ישמן; only יִשְׁמָן is not to be read Ishman (*i.e.* Ishmael), but Yeshimon (xxi. 20, xxiii. 28), the current name for a neighbouring desert (perhaps a sportive popular alteration of Ishman). In this lonely tract of wild rocks supernatural Presences were at home. 'And he went to Yeshimon. And God met Balaam.' Similarly Elijah went to meet God at Horeb.

(5) xxiii. 14, 'the field (highland) of watchers.' 'Watchers' (צִפִּים) can hardly be right; we expect a regional or ethnic corresponding to 'Moab' in xxi. 20. The key is given in the patronymic of Balak, ben Šippor. Read 'the highland of the Šarephites' (see p. 92). (6) רֹאשׁ הַפְּסִגָּה suggests interesting questions. It occurs in xxiii. 14, xxi. 20, and elsewhere (see *Lex*). In xxi. 20 the phrase is followed by 'and it looks out over [the] Yeshimon' (see 7). רֹאשׁ הַפְּסִגָּה, however, should probably be הַנִּשְׁקָפָה (cp. xxiii. 28). The strange-looking פְּסִגָּה is probably corrupt; at any rate, 'cleft of a mountain' is not a very suitable meaning. I suspect it to be a mutilated and corrupt form of נִשְׁקָפָה. רֹאשׁ (as in Ezek. xxxviii. 1, xxxix. 1, etc.) comes from אֲשַׁר. A mountain called 'Ashtar' (underlying אֲשַׁדֶּרֶת) is traceable in Dt. iii. 17;⁴ Asshur and Ashtar are synonymous. Num.

¹ *T. and B.* pp. 23, 46, 213, 319, etc.; *D. and F.* p. 134.

² See *T. and B.* p. 50.

³ *Presbyterian Review*, 1885, pp. 324 *f.*

⁴ *D. and F.* pp. 143 *f.*; *T. and B.* p. 146.

xxi. 20 should therefore run, 'and from Bamoth . . . to Asshur, which looks out over (the) Yeshimon.' In xxiii. 14, however, ראש הפסגה may be put aside as a late gloss.

(7) ראש הפער (xxiii. 28). A mountain called Pe'or is not found elsewhere. Ed. Meyer would substitute 'Pisgah.' But the place-name Beth-Pe'or and the god-name Baal-Pe'or are found. Probably פער is a collateral form of בער (see p. 91), and, therefore, means 'Arab-Asshur' (Arabia of Asshur); ראש, as we have seen, represents אֶשֶׁר. If so, פער is simply a gloss on אֶשֶׁר. (8) דְּרִישִׁימֹן, but the article may, as often, be purely redactional. The passage (xxiii. 28) probably states that Asshur (or, as the gloss, Be'or) 'looks out over' the desert tract known as Yeshimon. The word is explained above (see 3); the obvious is often the erroneous, and so it is here.

So far, the Balaam section is entirely dominated by a Palestinian and N. Arabian interest. There remains, however, the possibility that the poetical portions may reveal a widened horizon. Let us scan these passages with reference to this suggestion, beginning with the poetic oracle in xxiii. 7-10. It consists of seven distichs all plain, except the first (which has been already discussed, p. 88) and the last three. In v. 9 בַּלְאָם, transported into the future, sees the Israel that shall be, and describes it thus:

Lo, a people which dwelleth alone,
And doth not reckon itself among the nations.

This has been variously explained. To me both lines appear to express an advanced religious point of view. Israel, as the writer would have it, was animated by different religious principles from the neighbouring nations; therefore it dwelt alone, *i.e.* had (or at least ought to have) no religious intercourse with the other nations¹ such as S. Aram (or Asshur), Mišrim, Edom, Moab, Ammon, or in general those of N. Arabia. We cannot, however, say that in pre-Deuteronomic times either court or people, or indeed a majority of the Israelite prophets, disowned connexion with the kindred neighbouring peoples. Certainly Amos (iii. 1 *f.*), Hosea, and Micah were enthusiastically exclusive, but what

¹ It hardly means here 'securely,' as in Dt. xxxiii. 28.

success had their preaching? I therefore doubt whether xxiii. 9 can be pre-Deuteronomic, and would remark that Ex. xix. 5 (quoted by Gray) is liable to suspicion from its phraseology.

The next distich (*v.* 10 *a*) is incorrectly read. רִבֵּעַ, 'the fourth part,' is unsatisfactory. **¶** has δῆμους, which may be a free rendering of רַבְּבוֹת (but see **¶** Dt. xxxiii. 17). But if we restore this word we are still without a parallel to עַפְרָא in *l.* 1. Let us, then, look more closely at *l.* 1; is the text quite satisfactory? The translator of **¶** does not seem to have felt so; he gives as a paraphrase σπέρμα, evidently thinking of Gen. xiii. 16, xxviii. 14. Modern critics are less scrupulous, they do not hesitate to render *l.* 1, 'Who hath numbered the dust of Jacob?' But the 'dust of Jacob' is an impossible phrase; the promises in Genesis refer to the dust, not of Jacob, but of the earth. The absurdity will be plainer if we substitute 'stars' (Gen. xv. 5) or 'sand' (Gen. xxxii. 13). Nor have modern critics accounted for the reading רַבֵּעַ in *l.* 2. It should be noticed, however, that רַבֵּעַ in Num. xxxi. 8, Josh. xiii. 21, דְּבַא in Dt. xxxiii. 25, and בְּאֵר in Dt. i. 5 are highly questionable, and best corrected into עֵרֶב,¹ and that יַעֲרָף in Hos. x. 2 (see note), פָּרָא in Gen. xvi. 12, Jer. ii. 24, and other misread words elsewhere, very probably have the same origin.² This at once suggests a suitable explanation of עַפְרָא and רַבֵּעַ in our passage. The archetype must have had עֵרֶב in *l.* 1 and עֵרֶב in *l.* 2; פָּ and בָּ are of course very often confounded. Thus we get, as lines 1 and 2:

Who hath numbered Arabia of Ya'akob?

Who hath counted³ Arabia of Isra'el?

The political ideal of Israel was to unite Palestine and the N. Arabian border-land in one empire; to this the promises of Genesis and Deuteronomy, both in prose and in poetry, and the vaticinations of the prophets (*e.g.* Isa. xix. 23-25), equally point. Imagining himself at the time when this ideal shall have been realised, Balaam pronounces the immigrant Israelite population of N. Arabia to be innumer-

¹ *D. and F.* p. 182.

² *T. and B.* p. 275 with n. 2.

³ יָסַר עֵפֶר, as **¶**.

able. This is distinctly an eschatological statement (*e.g.* in Isa. xliv. 3 *f.*).

And now as to the conclusion of the oracle. It runs thus :

Let my soul die the death of the upright ones,
And let my latter time be like his !¹

According to the old doctrine of retribution, the 'upright' might be the Israelites. In an affecting passage of 'Job' (xxi. 5-15) the hero gives a sketch of what the life and death of the righteous ought to be, and affirms (with a shudder at his own boldness) that the description now applies only to the wicked. Evidently, however, there were still those who, like the Eliphaz of the poem (iv. 7-9), still clung to the old doctrine. It would be easy to base a theory on these facts of exegesis were it not for the abrupt transition from *a* to *b* in *v.* 10. If *v.* 10 *a* ran somewhat thus :

Righteous are they and without blame,
Their days upon earth they fill up,

all would be natural. But we cannot venture to assert that the present transition from *v.* 10 *a* to *v.* 10 *b* is at all natural. Must we then assign *v.* 10 *b* to the much-enduring redactor ?

Not, I think, to the unassisted redactor. Redactors were not as a rule arbitrary in their treatment of the text before them. Underneath the present text may lie a text which has a good connexion with the preceding distich. Let us start from נפשי and נמהו. There are some cases (*e.g.* in Judg. v. 21) in which נפשי, and some in which שפי or שרי (see on xxiii. 3 *b*), comes from ישפן = ישמעאל. And we know that, according to Lucian's recension of Θ, the person called in our text of 2 S. xix. 38 *f.* נמהם, but in *v.* 41 נמהן, was ἀχιμααμ. Now ἀχιμααμ is certainly another form of ἀχιμααν = Ahiman (Judg. i. 10), *i.e.* Ashhur-Yaman.² ישרים

¹ See especially *T. and B.* p. 494.

² 'Ahiman I don't know how to explain,' says Ed. Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, p. 264. Very likely. But Ah or Ahi = Ashhur and Yaman = Yerahme'el are attested. On these and on Shakram (*l.* 1) see *T. and B.*, Index.

can now be safely corrected ; it is from שַׁכְרָם, a N. Arabian place-name. Thus we obtain :

ימת ישפן מות שַׁכְרָם Die Ishmael as died Shakram,
ותהי אחריתו נאחִימָן And be his end like that of Ahiman !

BALAAM'S SECOND ORACLE (xxiii. 18-24)

The circumstances in which this oracle is given need not be explained at length. The right cursing-hill cannot, thinks Balak, have been chosen at first ; at any rate Yahweh, like other gods, may change his mind, if given a second chance. The latter illusion is so fatal that Balaam at once addresses himself to its refutation. The natures of God and man are widely different (cp. Isa. xxxi. 3 *a*) ; man may vacillate, but God's purposes are firm as the rocks (cp. 1 S. xv. 29). The oracle of Šophim cannot differ from the oracle of Bamoth-Baal ; therefore, says Balaam resolutely, ' I bless,¹ and will not recall it ' (*v.* 20 *b*). Gazing as before into the future, he can see no shadow on Israel's happiness :

I behold no misfortune in Jacob,
I see no trouble in Israel (*v.* 21 *a*).

Then arises a new textual difficulty. ' The shout of (or, for) a king is in him ' is not parallel to the preceding line either synonymously or antithetically. Evidently תרועת is wrong, and it is worth noticing that in Ps. lxxxix. 16 the same word is again corrupt,² and that in both passages תורה (תורת) is a suitable correction.³ If we may further assume that *v.* 22 is interpolated (see xxiv. 8 *a*), *vv.* 21 and 23 will be in sequence, in which case a satisfactory sense is produced :

Yahweh his God is with him,
And the law of Melek is in his midst.⁴
For there is no magic in Jacob,
And no divination in Israel.

¹ אבך, Sam., \mathfrak{S} .

² Dr. Briggs, in Ps. *b.c.* strangely explains, ' the musical service in the temple.'

³ In our passage ' תפארת מ' (cp. \mathfrak{S} , τὰ ἑνδοξα ἀρχόντων) is also possible.

⁴ Reading בְּחוֹכִי for בו, with Gunkel.

The 'law' (*tōrāh*) is the Mosaic, unless indeed the *tōrāh* of priests and prophets is meant. Melek is a divine name, perhaps for Yerahme'el (p. 52). The second distich is no doubt a very disputable statement of fact, but we must remember that Balaam has been suddenly converted to idealism as regards Israel. The next couplet surely must be interpolated, as few will care to deny.

BALAAM'S THIRD ORACLE (xxiv. 3-9)

The text is here very unsatisfactory. Shall I be able to improve it? I cannot repress a suspicion that the introduction in *vv.* 3 *f.* has been inserted from *vv.* 15 *f.*, and that the original underlying text had to do with the predestined fate of the neighbouring nations hostile to Israel. The indications are, however, too slender for me to go farther. The true opening at any rate reads naturally :

How fair are thy tents, O Jacob,
Thy dwelling-places, O Israel !

But the continuation is surely impossible. How can tents (*i.e.* houses) be compared either to 'valleys' (בְּחָלִים) or to 'gardens' (גְּבוּרִת)? And is the phrase 'valleys that stretch themselves out' (בְּצִירָה) a natural one? How, too, can cedar trees which do not grow in moist places be described as being 'beside the water'? And, lastly, if *ahālim* means some tree of the genus *Aquilaria*, the chief home of which is in S.E. Asia, and which does not grow in Palestine,¹ how could a Hebrew writer use such a tree as a figure for the dwellings of the Israelites? Evidently the text is wrong in several points. The first, so far as I know, to discern that בְּחָלִים, if correct, must be the name of some tree, was Perles, who, comparing the Ar. *naḥlat*^m, rendered 'palm trees.'² This, however, is too bold, especially when there is no suitable explanation or correction of גְּבוּרִת אֲהָלִים (Ἐσκηναί!), according to Dillmann, should be אֵילִים, which he renders 'palm trees.' I have myself proposed עֲרָבִים 'poplars' (cp. Isa. xlv. 4; Ps. cxxxvii. 2), suggesting that

¹ *E. Bib.*, 'Aloes.'

² *J.Q.R.*, xi. 688; so, later, Hommel and Gray.

the terms of comparison in the last two members of *v.* 6 might have been transposed in error.¹ I am no longer satisfied with this, however. The true key to the passage is the hypothesis that *v.* 16 *b* is a variant to *v.* 16 *a*. Let us compare the lines. In *a* the verb is נָשַׁר; to this, in *b*, corresponds נָטַע יְהוּדָה. The right reading is doubtless that in *b*. It may seem harder to find out how נָחָלִים and אֲהָלִים can correspond. It has been shown, however, that Hebrew names of trees are sometimes derived from the name of the region where they were specially prevalent, either with or without a prefixed עֵץ. Thus [עֵץ] רַעֲנָן comes from יִרְחֻמָּאֵל, through the linking form רַעֲמָן²; [עֵץ] שֶׁמֶן from יִשְׁמַעְאֵל, *i.e.* יִשְׁמַעֵל, while תַּאֲשׁוּר and אֲשׁוּר (Ezek. xxxi. 3) are = עֵץ אֵל.³ Most probably, too, the almug or alium in the name of some trees brought by Solomon either from Ophir (1 K. x. 11) or Lebanon (2 Chr. ii. 8) is derived from some corruption of Yerahme'el.⁴ It cannot, therefore, be extravagant to suppose that both נָחָלִים and אֲהָלִים (which must somehow, as we have seen, correspond) may come from יִרְחֻמָּאֵל, the linking form being something like אֲלֻחִים or אֲמֻלִּים (cp. alummim, almuggim).

And now, what of כַּנְנוֹת and כַּאֲרוֹיִם? How can these be shown to correspond? The truth is, they need not correspond. כַּאֲרוֹיִם, which follows עֲלֵי-מִים, cannot be right, for it makes the cedar a water-loving tree, which is incorrect. What must the original be? Surely אֲלֵהִים; cp. Ps. xlii. 7 (עֲלֵי probably from אֲלֵהִי). מִים is a redactor's insertion;⁵ the corrupt עֲלֵי had already arisen. Thus we get a parallel to נָטַע יְהוּדָה, which is the true close of the first line in the original couplet. It follows that a word must have fallen out of the second line in the second form of the couplet. That word is כַּנְנוֹת (corrected from כַּנְנוֹת) in *l.* 2 of the first form. Compare Ezek. xxxi. 8, אֲרוֹיִם בְּגַן אֱלֹהִים.

But how can we account for the reading כַּהֲרִי? This

¹ *Exp. Times*, x. 401 *b*; *E. Bib.*, col. 717.

² Cp. the river-name אֲרִיִּן and the personal name אֲרִמְיָהוּ.

³ *D. and F.* pp. 112 ff.; *T. and B.* p. 147.

⁴ *Crit. Bib.*, pp. 330 f.

⁵ Hommel, however (*Aufsätze*, pp. 286, n. 2, and 305, n. 1), takes מִים, here and in Isa. xix. 11, to designate a region in Midian.

imagined by the writer of this distich was no mean personage (see on *v.* 20). The writer calls this king Agag, not with reference to any individual king, but because 'Agag,' or rather 'Og' (עוג),¹ had become conventionalised, just as Pir'u was probably the conventional name for the king of Mišrim. For אגג, אג, Ag., Symm., Theod. presupposes גוג² (on the origin of which see *T. and B.* p. 158).

How far the following lines are correct is a problem. *V.* 8 *a* is identical with xxiii. 22, except that מוציא is given for מוציאם; also one of the two short stichi at the end of *v.* 8 is superfluous, unless indeed we should read (for the two suspicious short lines) ועצמות ירחם יסחק, 'and the bones of Yarham he shall shatter.'³ The latter suggestion seems indeed almost necessary. And now, as to *v.* 8 *a*, what can I say, to improve (if it be possible) on previous explanations? 'Mišraim' should doubtless be 'Mišrim'; 'God brought him (Israel) out of Mišrim' is in harmony with the N. Arabian atmosphere of the whole section. But how can the parallel line run, 'he has as it were the (*) of the wild ox'? According to most, the untranslated word (תועפות) means 'horns.' That the wild ox had formidable horns (Ps. xxii. 22) is admitted. But if the writer had meant 'horns,' why did he not use the natural word קרני, just as another poet does in extolling the strength of the tribe of Joseph (Dt. xxxiii. 17)? תועפות, wherever else it occurs,⁴ is liable to suspicion, and so it is here. Each case must be considered separately. In the present instance the possible remedy will be two-fold. If some characteristic feature of the wild ox (ראם) is referred to, it will, of course, be the possession of horns that is meant; we shall then have to read תפארת.⁵ But if we doubt whether either Israel or Yahweh could be said to have horns in this casual way, *en passant*, and whether the possession of (metaphorical) horns by Israel can be parallel

¹ See *Exp. Times*, *ibid.* Baentsch inclines to agree.

² So von Gall, who thinks that Gog figures here as the representative of the heathen world-power, over which, in the Messianic period, Israel is to triumph.

³ ירחם and יגם may both represent ירחם; the impossible חצי may have come from יסחק (dittographed).

⁴ Job xxii. 5; Ps. xcii. 4.

⁵ So Cheyne, *Exp. Times*, *l.c.*, Gray.

to the deliverance from Mišrim, the correction marked out for the received text will be מִכְתָּפֹת רִמְאֵלִי. The sense thus produced is :

God (El) brought him out of Mišrim,
From the mountain-ridges of those of Yerahme'el.

A prophet (Isa. xi. 14) looks forward to the return of Israel to the 'mountain ridges of the Ethbalites,' not as the oppressed, but as oppressors. He means, however, not merely Mišrim, but the whole of the Yerahme'elite country. And, indeed, our own poet proceeds to speak of 'the nations his enemies,' *i.e.* those of Yarham in general (see above).

BALAAH'S FOURTH ORACLE (xxiv. 15-19)

Verse 14 promises a warning as to the treatment of Moab by Israel in the final age. The warning is given in v. 17. It is introduced nearly as the third oracle is (see p. 98), and followed by a poorly-expressed tristich and distich (*vv.* 18 *f.*), the text of which is unsatisfactory. They may be a later addition. The genuine oracle runs, or should run, thus in mysterious, visionary style :—

I see him, but not now ;
I behold him, but not (yet) nigh ;
A star beams out of Jacob,
A sceptre has arisen out of Israel :
He smites through Ephrath of Moab,
And . . . all the sons of Ashtar (*gloss*, Ashkar).

In *l.* 3 דָּרַךְ, 'treads down,' should be וָרַךְ (ⲓ ⲁⲛⲁⲧⲉⲗⲉⲓ). This is plain enough ; the פִּתְחֵי in *l.* 5 is more difficult. Most think that it means the two sides of the head, *i.e.* the temples ; the versions, however (ⲓ Pesh., Vg., Onk.), presuppose פְּרֻעֹת,¹ which may quite well have arisen out of אִפְרַת² (see *D. and F.* p. 162, on פְּרֻעֹת, Dt. xxxii. 42). That פִּתְחֵי and אִפְרַת were liable to confusion we shall see further when we come to Amos iii. 12. I must not be tedious,

¹ The Hebrew Sirach, however (xxxvi. 10), quotes פִּתְחֵי, with a marg. reading אִיב.

² There were, probably, several Ephraths (*T. and B.* pp. 419, 507).

but may remark that after scribes had gone wrong in *l.* 5, other scribes naturally went wrong in *l.* 6. Hence in the dependent passage, Jer. xlviii. 45, קֹדֶקֶר,¹ 'scull,' takes the place of קֹרֶקֶר. Not that even this is right. What the right reading is we shall see presently. Meantime something sorely needs to be done for בְּנֵי שֵׁת. 'Pride' is out of the question; no such meaning for שֵׁת can be shown to exist. Sayce² thought of the Suti (Bedawin) of the Amarna letters; Hommel,³ not to be outdone, took Sheth to be a god's name = Kemosh. Analogy, however, requires us to make שֵׁת a fragment of אֲשִׁתָּר = אֲשִׁתָּר (cp. on שְׁתִּי, Am. iii. 12; Hos. x. 10). In Jer. xlviii. 45 the corresponding word is שְׂמֹאן = יִשְׁמַעֵאל (through שְׂמֹאן)⁴; 'all the sons of Ishmael' and 'all the sons of Ashtar' mean the same thing, viz. 'all those of N. Arabia.' קֹרֶקֶר, too, can be corrected by our methods, but we must, I fear, admit that the verb parallel to מִחַץ has fallen out. Most probably, קֹרֶקֶר, like עֵכֶר, represents אֲשִׁשׁוּר (= Asshur-Rekem). Cp. the place-name קֹרֶקֶר, Judg. viii. 10, and מִקְרָקֶר, Isa. xxii. 5, and see on קִיר, Am. i. 5. 'Ashkar' is a gloss on 'Ashtar.'

Now as to *vv.* 18 *f.* I cannot follow von Gall⁵ (pp. 38 *f.*), and must go my own way. To retain עֲשֵׂה יִשְׂרָאֵל חַיִּל, is impossible. It is too vague, and not parallel to any part of the context. Now, we know that עֲשֵׂה and חַיִּל may be corruptions of אֲשִׁשׁוּר and יִרְחַמֵּאל respectively (see Judg. iii. 29; Ps. lxii. 11), also that geographical glosses often intrude into the text. Nor can it be denied that יִשְׂרָאֵל and יִשְׁמַעֵאל are liable to confusion (note *e.g.* 2 S. xvii. 25, 'Israelite'; 1 Chr. ii. 17, 'Ishmaelite').⁶

Taking due account of this, *l.* 3 of the tristich in *v.* 18 becomes transformed into a gloss, 'that is (וְ), Ishmael, Ashhur-Yerahme'el.' This was originally written in the margin as a comment on אֵיבָיו, 'his enemies.' Next, as to this word (אֵיבָיו) which is clearly not rightly placed. Should it not stand in *v.* 19 *a*? And should not עִיר in *b* rather be עֵרֶב (see on Num. xxii. 36)? Lastly, we come to *v.* 18 *a*. The two stichi of which it consists are, omitting

¹ So also Sam. in Numbers.

³ *Ibid.* xi. 344.

⁵ See Gray.

² *Exp. Times*, xiii. 69.

⁴ *T. and B.* p. 111, n. 4.

⁶ The latter reading is correct.

איביר, perfect trimeters, but *l.* 2 is too tautological to pass muster. שַׁעִיר may, of course, be right, but the two preceding words must have fallen out, and their place have been supplied by a scribe who was a poor stylist. Thus we get a quatrain or tetrastich:

And Edom shall become a possession,

And Seir . . .

And Jacob shall subject his enemies [that is, Ishmael, or Ashhur-Yerahme'el],

And destroy those that survive out of Arabia.

SHORT ORACLES OF BALAAM (xxiv. 20-24)

The fifth, sixth, and seventh oracles pronounce the doom of Amalek (*v.* 20), Kain (*vv.* 21 *f.*), and Ishmael (*vv.* 23 *f.*). They are very short, and contain no reference either to Moab or to Israel. Possibly, however, *vv.* 21 *b*–24 originally formed a single independent poem on the fate of the entire Yerahme'elite or Ishmaelite race (the Moabites included).¹ At any rate the oracles referred to are a later addition. The text is bad. Thus in *l.* 2 of the Amalek-oracle עַדִּי אֶבֶד cannot be right; underlying אֶבֶד is some verb. If so, עַדִּי certainly, and אַחֲרֵיתוֹ probably, must also be corrupt. Or, if אַחֲרֵיתוֹ, 'his ending,' be right, רֵאשִׁית in *l.* 1 ought to mean 'beginning.' There can, however, be little doubt but that *l.* 1 should be rendered, 'The oldest of the nations is Amalek.' In fact, 'Amalek' is a corruption of Yerahme'el, and Yerahme'el 'in the haze of tradition took vast proportions to the Israelites.'² And no wonder, considering the close relations, especially in early times, between Israel and Yerahme'el. Indeed, the Israelites themselves were to a large extent Yerahme'elites; so much is attested by the names of their chief patriarchs—Abraham and Jacob.

If, then, אַחֲרֵיתוֹ is wrong, what is the original underlying word? Considering how often אָחֵר stands for אַחֲרָיִם, it cannot be rash to read thus:

¹ In accordance with an early view (p. 92).

² Cheyne, *Book of Psalms* (1905), ii. 75; cp. *T. and B.* pp. 39, 96 (n. 3). Am. vi. 1 cannot be quoted against this (see note).

וְאַשְׁחֹרֶת עָרֵב יַעֲבִידוּהָ, *i.e.* 'but Ashḥoreth-Arāb shall enslave it.'

Ashḥōreth is the fem. form of Ashḥor (Ashḥur).¹ By 'Arabian Ashḥoreth' may be meant that great Arabian power beyond Muṣri, which from time to time intervened in the affairs of Israel, and which is best known as Asshur.² This restoration is at least plausible (see further on *v.* 24).

Vv. 21 *f.* give the doom of Ḳain or the Kenites. It may seem strange that a people so friendly to Israel should be the object, as one may almost say, of a curse. Some critics³ therefore think that 'Ḳain' (*v.* 22 *a*) must be a substitute (*Deckname*) for some name familiar in the later history, just as 'Asshur' (*v.* 22 *b*) is held by some to be a designation of the Seleucid empire of Syria. I see no reason for this supposition. Here, as often, 'Asshur' means an Arabian region so called,⁴ and why should not 'Ḳain' have a similar meaning? It was probably only one branch of the Kenite people which was in covenant with Israel. This is the doom:

Firm is thy dwelling-place [O Ḳain],
And placed among the crags thy nest.
Yet Ḳain shall be a prey for Arabia,
Asshur shall destroy thee like Gomorrah.

The insertion of קַיִן⁵ in *l.* 1 is required both by metre and by the evident play upon words. Lines 3 and 4 are difficult. One expects in *l.* 3 a racial or regional name, corresponding to Asshur in *v.* 4. What this name is, can hardly be doubtful. עֵר has come from עֵבֶר,⁶ and this from עָרֵב. Further, עַד מָה is, to say the least, very awkward. Like אֲדָמָה in Gen. xiv. 2; Dt. xxix. 23; Hos. xi. 8, it very possibly comes from עֲמֹרָה⁷ (Gomorrah), to which כ must be prefixed.

¹ See *T. and B.* pp. 23, 213, 319, 337, 485. It is both a divine and a regional name. We may however read 'Ashḥart.'

² There was, *e.g.*, an Asshurite invasion in Hezekiah's reign (*D. and F.* pp. 88 *ff.*).

³ Wellhausen, Holzinger.

⁴ So, too, Hommel (*AHT*, p. 245, *Aufsätze*, iii. 278), but his Asshur is Edom.

⁵ So Sievers, Baentsch.

⁶ So Klostermann and Hommel.

⁷ Cp. *Θ*, πανουργίας (עֲרֹמָה).

Lastly, the fem. verb with the name of a people is unexpected; perhaps we should read יִשְׁבִּיתָךְ. The effect of the passage is heightened if we take Sodom and Gomorrah to have been in the Yerahme'elite region.¹ Lines 3 and 4 should, therefore, probably read (but cp. *Exp. Times*, x. 399):

כִּי־אִם יִהְיֶה לְעָרְב קִין
נַעֲמֵרָה אֲשׁוּר יִשְׁבִּיתָךְ

The remaining short oracle, according to **Q**, relates to Og (cp. above, on 'Agag'), or, as Lucian's recension has it, Gog. Both, as we have seen, are Arabian names. Most probably, however, the insertion of *ὁδὸν τὸν Ὠγ* (or *Γωγ*) is purely arbitrary. As for the poem itself form and contents are alike unsatisfactory. For the formal difficulties Gray's commentary may be referred to. As to the contents, we must aim at taking a step forward. Long since, Oort² was content to render *l. 1* of the oracle, 'Vae! quis prorogabit dies suos praeter quos Deus ei concedit?' *i.e.* the poet threatens Assyria, and reminds him of God, the lord of life and death. Parallelism, however, requires a regional name. D. H. Müller³ suggested reading מִשְׁמָאֵל for מִשְׁמֹר אֵל, and pointing עֲבֹר for עֲבֹר. This for a time pleased me.⁴ Sam'al is the name of a kingdom in N.W. Syria, at the foot of the Amanus mountains, otherwise called Ya'di, and famous for its inscriptions.⁵ The objection is that the atmosphere of these poems is not Syrian, but N. Arabian. If so, it cannot be difficult to replace the right word. The name which underlies מִשְׁמֹר אֵל is, not Sam'al, but the name from which Sam'al is most probably derived,⁶ viz. Ishmael, *i.e.* the peoples of N. Arabia.

In *l. 2*, 'and ships from the side of Chittim' is surely impossible, especially as a parallel. In fact, lines 2-4 give

¹ *T. and B.* p. 298.

² *Dissert. de Bileami narrat.*, p. 45.

³ *Die Propheten*, i. 215 f.

⁴ *Expositor*, iii. 77 (1896).

⁵ Cooke, *North Sem. Inscr.*, pp. 182 f.

⁶ Most scholars connect Sam'al with שְׂמָאֵל 'left,' *i.e.* 'north.' But not only analogies such as שָׁלֵם and שָׁלֵם in O.T., but the abundant traces of N. Arabian influence in Phœn. names suggest יִשְׁמַעְאֵל as the true origin of the name. In fact, wherever they went, the migrating Arabians left popular modifications of one or another of their distinguishing ethnics.

only too much occasion to the critic for divination. In *l.* 2 a transposition is necessary, for clearly a verb is required to begin the stichus, and it must be parallel to יחיה. Such a verb cannot underlie צים, but may be latent in מיד צים. צים may perhaps have come from a regional name, and this name may be compounded with נחם, which has been, I think, shown to be N. Arabian.¹ Such a name might be צלם, which I take to be a popular corruption of ישמעאל. In *l.* 3 ענר is dittographed. In *l.* 4 גם-הוא means 'Ishmael among other peoples.' For לעבד ערב compare Gen. ix. 25 (if we read ערבים). עדי אבד was suggested by *v.* 20 *b* in its corrupt form.² Asshur will still be the N. Arabian Asshur. The quatrain, thus doubtfully (except in *l.* 1) restored, will run :

אוי מי יחיה מישמעאל	Alas ! who will survive of Ishmael
ויעמד בצלם נחם	And remain in Şelem of Chittim ?
יענוהו אשור וערב	Asshur and Arabia shall humble him ;
וגם-הוא לעבד ערב	He too shall be the servant of Arabia.

In conclusion, there are many points both small and great in the Balaam narratives on which more light is still to be desired. So much, however, is plain that the horizon of the narrators and, of course, of the hero of the tales is mainly N. Arabian. Also that the chief object (*p.* 78) of the narrative is to deal a heavy blow to the practice of resorting to N. Arabian diviners, and to glorify the higher prophecy of Israel by exhibiting the most famous of those diviners as first of all sorely humiliated (see *J*), and then converted by divine intervention into a true prophet of Yahweh. Incidental allusions are made to the ritual of divination, and since, directly or indirectly, Babylon was the teacher of the Semitic nations in most forms of culture, it is natural that the deficiency of N. Arabian sources of information should be made good from Babylonian abundance. Now the Babylonian priest had a very elaborate ritual for ascertaining the divine will. In this ritual there was necessarily some form of incantation, also an offering to the god, the

¹ *T. and B.* pp. 166 *f.*

² Winckler's emendation (*AOF*², iii. 423) is connected with a wrong explanation of Dan. xi. 31.

performance of certain symbolical acts, and especially the inspection and interpretation of the omens. From his inspection of the liver (the vital organ) of the sacrificial victim, the priest derived the name of *bârû* or 'seer' (= inspector).¹ Samuel Daiches² goes so far as to call Balaam a Babylonian *bârû*, and adduces several passages or expressions which may refer to the performances prescribed in the ritual for the *bârû*. His statements are of much interest, and generally (not always) have a real bearing on the Balaam episode. In Num. xxii. 41, for instance, we read that early in the morning Balak took the diviner up to Bamoth-Baal; so in Babylon the whole complex ceremony had to be performed before sunrise. Further, the altars and the victims were prepared by Balak, because he was *bel nîke*, 'owner of the sacrifice,' but the sacrifices were offered by both Balak and Balaam, again in accordance with the ritual. Equally correct is it when we are told (xxiii. 3) that Balak had to remain by his burnt-offering. Just so, in Babylon the *bel nîke* had to pray by the offering, while the diviner did his work. In xxiii. 3 *f.* Daiches even suspects an abstruse meaning in *וילך, ואלכה, שפי, ויקר*. He holds that the 'going' of Balaam corresponds to the 'going' or 'stepping' of the diviner spoken of in inscriptions, a movement which must have some magic object, and even thinks that *שפי* means either 'quietly' or 'with hindered step,' as if Balaam were lame, as an old Rabbi asserted that he was.³ I regret that I cannot follow Dr. Daiches here.

It is more plausible when he holds that *ויקר* implies a theophany obtained through magic operations. 'God's appearing or non-appearing,' he says, 'is merely accidental. It depends on the result of his magic. In the Babylonian divination it depended on the liver-omens or oil-omens. When they were favourable, then the gods appeared to the *bârû*.' The Hebrew narrator makes Balaam say, 'when Yahweh has come to meet me, whatever he sheweth me I

¹ Jastrow, *Bab.-Ass. Religion*, p. 330; *JBL*, xxviii. 46; cp. Zimmern, *KAT*³, p. 589. The office was hereditary.

² 'Balaam—a Babylonian *bârû*' in *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume* (1909), pp. 60-70.

³ Balaam was lame on one leg, because it is said *וילך שפי* (Sota, 10a; Sanhedrin, p. 105 a).

will tell thee.' So in the Babylonian ritual, if the omens prove favourable, 'Shamash and Adad, the great gods, the lords of the oracle, the lords of the decision, will come to him, give a decision for him, answer him with a firm promise.'¹ Three times Balak tries for an oracle. This reminds us of passages in the Ritual, which enjoin that the incantation should be recited three times, three altars should be erected, three censers should be put before the gods, three lambs should be sacrificed. According to Daiches Balaam does not want to divine a third time lest he should lose his reputation as a *bârâ*. In fact, now he rises into prophecy. But still, as this scholar thinks, he knows that he is a *bârâ*. The only proof, however, adduced by this scholar is the accumulation of titles in xxiv. 3, 4. The objection to Daiches' view is that the text of vv. 3, 4 is uncertain (see p. 98), and that even if the descriptive terms are official titles, they belong to Balaam, not as diviner, but as prophet. To this Daiches may reply that my theory is based on the results of my critical analysis, and that he himself is not a higher critic. But I fear the higher criticism cannot easily, here at least, be overthrown. J and E and certain masters of the art of poetry divide the honours of composition, though the facts on which I chiefly build are due rather to J than to E.

The theory given here of Balaam differs widely from that of later O.T. writers.² It is offered, not as historical in the full sense of the word, but as representing the high and noble point of view taken by some thinkers who breathed the pure and bracing air of the advanced prophets (cp. the following section).

3. SAMUEL SECTION

It would be interesting, if only it could be proved, that Samuel as well as Balaam was transformed, according to Israelite writers, from a diviner into a prophet. Certainly

¹ *Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager, Beschwörer und Sänger*, in Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der bab. Religion*, p. 104, ll. 124-126 (in Daiches).

² See Gray, *Numbers*.

in a chronological arrangement of the pre-Deuteronomic Samuel narratives the hero would begin as a 'seer' (רֹאֵה) and end as a 'prophet' (נָבִיא), and it is a theory of Prof. Jastrow¹ that the technical term רֹאֵה is to be explained as = the Babylonian term *bārû* (literally 'seer'), which seems originally to have been applied to the 'inspector' of the liver of a sacrificial victim with a view to omens, and to have come ultimately to signify a divining priest in general. It is noteworthy, however, 1. That a Hebraized form of *bārû* nowhere occurs in the O.T., unless indeed we follow some critics in their emendation of a phrase in Isa. xlvii. 13,² and 2. That, so far as Samuel is concerned, *rō'eh* might, on the ground of 1 S. ix. 15-17, plausibly be explained 'seer of visions.' All that is quite certain is that in the first of the early Samuel-narratives (1 S. ix.-x. 15) the chief stress is laid on the reputation of Samuel, not as a prophet, but as a 'man of God' or 'seer.' He was known, at any rate in his own town (for the moment I assume his historicity), and in Saul's district, for his success in making forecasts and in clearing up mysteries, such as that of the strayed asses, but we may fairly assume that, like the Balaam of another legend, he was sometimes consulted by persons of mark on more important subjects. Like Balaam, too, probably at least, he was a priest (he blesses a local sacrifice), and certainly he was not above taking professional fees³ (1 S. ix. 7 f.). On the ground of the latter fact, and of his title 'seer,' it is not too bold to regard him as a diviner. 1 S. ix. 15-17 is not so conclusive against this view. As for the elevation of Samuel in subsequent literature there is no doubt as to the fact, but since no stress is laid upon it, we cannot be sure that the later writer was conscious of what he had done. It is true, however, that in xv. 23, which belongs to this writer, Samuel is made to speak of the 'sin of divination,' just as the transformed Balaam, in one of

¹ 'Ro'eh and Hozeh in the O.T.', *JBL*, xxviii. 42-56 (1909).

² Muss-Arnolt, *AJSL*, xvi. 23, reads הַבָּרִים בְּשָׁמַיִם, 'those who scan the heavens.' Similarly Zimmern, *KAT*⁽³⁾, p. 580 (n. 5), who also mentions Haupt's בָּרִים for בָּרִים, Isa. xlv. 25.

³ The later prophets of the meaner class also, it is true, took fees. To some extent they were diviners. Micah speaks of them as 'divining for money' (Mic. iii. 11).

those poetic oracles which really represent an advanced prophetic period, idealistically denies that there is any divination in Israel (Num. xxiii. 23). For us moderns it would be easy to base a theory on this, but it does not follow that the ancient writer intended it.

There is only one perfectly safe theory, viz. to regard Samuel as a real or imagined representative, sometimes of the age when divination reigned among the Israelites unopposed, sometimes (*i.e.* in other strata of narrative) of that later period when the higher prophecy claimed supremacy in the national life, and considered divination in all its forms to be a pernicious product of Canaanitish and Arabian heathenism. Even in the former age, it is true, there were prophets, but what sort of prophets! They were indeed strange beings compared with an Amos and an Isaiah, and in the most distinctive feature they were not so far from the stage in which the 'medicine-men' of Greenland and Labrador still are—the stage in which the so-called *angekok* is thought to be inhabited by a dominant superhuman being. The spirit (*rūah*) of Yahweh who 'springs' upon the destined prophet (*nābī*) is not indeed quite the same as Yahweh himself; a growing refinement of feeling forbade people to say that the *nābī* was an incarnation of Yahweh. It was not exactly Yahweh himself who condescended to a fleshly habitation, and who for a time veiled the light of reason in a man with such strange results. Still, we must not attach too much importance to this modification of phrase. Through the *rūah* the *nebi'im* were brought into communion with Yahweh; so at least they must have believed. It was a passion for Yahweh himself which filled these men, and so vehement was it that, helped by the sound of music, a change arose in their physical state. This was coupled with an abnormal and non-moral or super-moral consciousness, which permitted or impelled them to do things of which a perfectly sane Israelite would have been incapable. For instance, they would sometimes run great distances (repeating Yahweh's name?) with incredible speed, till they fell, exhausted, 'on some mountain or in some ravine' (1 K. xviii. 46; 2 K. ii. 16 *b*), or else, reverting absolutely to primitive unculture, would behave still more madly, stripping

off their clothes, and falling down naked¹ (1 S. xix. 24). Thus they became fools for Yahweh's sake, whose 'spirit' it was that made them trample on social traditions, and become 'other men' (1 S. x. 6—end).

To this impulse, coming (as it seemed) from without special phrases are appropriated. Sometimes it is said that 'the spirit of Yahweh sprang (וַחַצְלָח) upon a man,' 1 S. x. 6, xi. 6, xvi. 13, xviii. 10, which may perhaps allude to the symbolism, if it be not something more than symbolism,² derived from animals, as when Yahweh is compared to a wild beast. Isaiah, who once mentions having himself been in what we should call an ecstasy, uses a parallel phrase, בְּחֹקֶת הַיָּד 'in the strong pressure of the Hand' (Isa. viii. 11). Ezekiel, too, who gives hints of various abnormal phenomena in his psychic-physical life, says that 'the Hand of Yahweh was strong (חֹקֶה) upon him' (Ezek. iii. 15; cp. 2 K. iii. 15.) This was long enough after the time of the legendary Samuel, but a growth-like prophecy, which has roots deep down in human nature, can only be modified and purified; it cannot entirely pass away. Hence, in the time of the legendary Elijah (1 K. xviii. 28), the prophets of Baal³ make ritual incisions in their flesh to effect union with their God;⁴ it is also stated (v. 26) that they made some equally ritual dance around the altar. No wonder that 'prophet' and 'madman' were interchangeable terms; in 2 K. ix. 11 one of Jehu's officers calls the prophet who had anointed Jehu 'this madman' (מְשֻׁעָנִי); with which compare Jer. xxix. 26. The early narrative in 1 S. x. quite bears this out.

¹ Parallels from Indian asceticism will at once occur. The Jain sect, *e.g.*, is divided into two branches, 'the white clothed and the unclothed.' Cp. *The Master as I saw Him*, by Nivedita, p. 94:

'Sometimes naked, sometimes mad,
Now as a scholar, again as a fool,
Here a rebel, there a saint,
Thus they appear on the earth, the Paramahamsas.'

² *T. and B.* p. 35. 'I do not mean that the god was, as it were, bound to the sacred animal, but that in some sense which only a primitive worshipper could fully realise, he willed to deposit his divine essence in it.'

³ The prophets of Baal (*i.e.* Yerahme'el) probably antedated those of Yahweh.

⁴ See p. 143.

The 'seer' forecasted that Saul would meet some *nebi'im*, and that their frenzied behaviour would be infectious; he would behave like a *nābī* with them (1 S. x. 5 f., 10).

It is very possible that Saul did become a *nābī* for a short time on this occasion. We can trace the effect of it alike in his ardour against the Ethbalites,¹ and in the morbid melancholy which now and again beset him, arising perhaps from distress at the protracted war.² And we may assume that Saul was not the only one who for a time caught the prophetic frenzy, and afterwards became foremost in the ranks of Israel. In companies the *nebi'im* roamed through the land to the sound of musical instruments (cp. 2 K. iii. 15), gathering without effort new devotees. And if they were not wandering abroad, they would be found (cp. p. 3) near the sanctuary (1 S. x. 5).

Yet the promise of the future was with the prophets, and not with the seers. The transition from the lower to the higher prophets took a long time; even Elijah preserves some traces of the old dervish-like *nebi'im*. Meantime the vocation of the seers was passing away. Let us not undervalue the work which they did. Those who held the combined offices of priest and seer—if they were high-minded men—had it to a large extent in their power to keep the people religious. Divination only became a sin when the consciences alike of diviners and of people began to be more sensitive in proportion as the conception of God began to grow higher and purer. It should be added that there were some seers who made no search for omens, but were content with the interpretation of visions, whether these occurred in dreams of the night or in the waking hours. These seers appear to have been included among the *hōzīm*, ('seers,' 'gazers'); in fact, the cognate substantive *hāzōn*, 'vision,' was applied to the revelations of those great servants of God—the later and higher *nebi'im*. The participial noun *hōzeh*, however, has gathered a suggestion of disparagement, not indeed in the phrase 'God, David's *hōzeh*' (2 S. xxiv. 11, if the reading is correct),³ but certainly in

¹ Miscalled 'the Philistines.'

² For a parallel in Micronesia, see Schwally, *Semit. Kriegsalterthümer*, p. 105.

³ See Budde's note.

Am. vii. 12 (Amaziah addresses Amos as *hōzeh*), Isa. xxx. 10; Ezek. xiii. 16, and especially where Ezekiel associates *hōzīm* with *hōsemīm*¹ ('diviners'), e.g. Ezek. xiii. 23, xxii. 28. Dreams, from their inherent obscurity, and the prophets and devotees who relied on them, are also disparaged; waking visions and their interpreters were right; dream-visions and their interpreters were wrong (Jer. xxvii. 25-28, 32, xxix. 8; Zech. x. 2; cp. Dt. xiii. 1-5). This view, however, is not universal (Num. xii. 6; Joel iii. 1; cp. Gen. xl., xli.).

It is noteworthy in this connexion that Samuel, as a 'seer,' is always called '*rō'eh*, never *hōzeh*. According to an early glossator he was none the less a prophet, 'for he who is now called a *nābī* was formerly called a *rō'eh*' (1 S. ix. 9). This was a pardonable error; the idea of historic progress was not then in circulation. The *nebi'im* whom the glossator had in view were on a higher spiritual level than even such a seer as Samuel is said to have been. The *nābī* of 1 S. xv. could have been 'retained' by no 'fee.' He is, in some important respects, like one of the later literary prophets. Even Elijah lacks his predecessor's faculty of speech. It is rather Amos or Hosea of whom we think, as we read those words so full of moral fervour:—

Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice,
And to hearken than the fat of rams (xv. 22 b).

It is true, Amos and Hosea did not slay their opponents, as even Elijah slaughtered the prophets of Baal, and as Samuel, we are told, sacrificially slew Agag, neither did they make and unmake kings like Elijah and Elisha. But one's involuntary impression is that this Samuel is really a forerunner of Amos and Hosea, even more than of the two forceful Gileadite prophets. He is a true mouthpiece of God, which in his capacity of 'seer' he cannot be, though irregularly in 1 S. ix. 15-17 the seer Samuel does receive a direct revelation from Yahweh.

But the glorification of Samuel is not yet complete (see vii. 2-viii. 22, x. 17-27, xii. 1-25). In the first stage of tradition he is a local seer and a king-maker; in the

¹ See Jastrow's article (*JBL* as above).

second, a prophet in a wider sphere of a king's unmaker ;¹ in the third, a ruling Judge,² one might almost say a second Moses. If this view of the case be correct the popular desire for a king was certainly an act of apostasy. Nevertheless the wish is granted, and at Mizpeh the sacred lot falls on Saul, who receives the homage of the people (x. 17-27). Samuel indeed continues *de jure* theocratic head of the people (vii. 15), but *de facto*, things are quite otherwise. It is a singular inconsistency. In chap. xii., after making his 'apologia,' Samuel gives a farewell charge to the people, and yet in vii. 15 we read that he judged Israel 'all the days of his life.' After this we cannot be surprised at two other palpably unhistorical passages. One is the account in chap. vii. of Samuel's great religious reformation, and of the brilliant victory over the Ethbalites which he gained in consequence. Another is the anecdote in 1 S. xix. 18-24. Here we find Samuel presiding like an Elijah or Elisha over the prophetic community in Ramah, with which David takes refuge. The prophets referred to were evidently of the dervish-type, such as the Samuel of the earlier narratives would by no means have wished to be connected with.

I have kept the best till now, for though the historic element may be slight, the simple grace of the idylls in 1 S. i.-iii. well fits them to stand at the end of this section. The passage has naturally received much attention, and I can therefore afford to be brief. Young Samuel and his mother take our hearts by storm, nor does Elkanah, husband and father, come short in our estimation. 'Then said Elkanah to her, Hannah, why weepest thou? and why eatest thou not? and why is thy heart grieved? am not I dearer to thee than ten sons?' (i. 8). Childless as she was, her husband loved her even better than her fellow-wife, and at the visit which they all paid to the temple at Shiloh, on the occasion of the great autumn festival, if he only gave Hannah one portion of the sacrificial meat, it was only because she had no sons to claim recognition (v. 5).³ Now

¹ Strictly, 1 S. xiii. 7 b-15 seems to be an interpolation. See Budde.

² So Stade, 'Samuel,' *E. Bib.*, but cp. below, p. 121.

³ מִן הַזֶּבֶחַ is clearly wrong. Read with Wellh., מִן הַזֶּבֶחַ (Θ, πλὴν ὅττι).

there was adjoining the temple an open-air hall¹ where the sacrificial feasts were held. There Hannah left her food uneaten,² while she herself went into the temple and prayed, standing 'before Yahweh,' *i.e.* 'before the ark.'³ She vowed that if Yahweh would think upon her and give her a man-child, she would dedicate him to Yahweh, meaning probably as a priest (cp. Ezek. xliv. 20).⁴ Her prayer was so softly uttered that the old priest Eli could not hear it, only he 'marked her mouth' (*vv.* 12 *f.*). Such humbly whispered prayers must have been rare, even in the narrator's time. Within a year Samuel was born, and after his mother had weaned him she brought him to Shiloh, to Eli.

Thus early, as was believed, Samuel began his preparation. His destined spiritual office was marked by his 'linen ephod,' his civil rank by his 'little coat' (מַעֲטָה) which Hannah brought every year when she came up with her husband to the sacrifice (*ii.* 18 *f.*). The older he grew, the more evidently he became the model priest, contrasting notably with the two unworthy sons of Eli. But a crisis was hastening on. It was the will of Him whom Eli truly but weakly served that he should not be succeeded by either of his sons. To whom but to Samuel should this be revealed? In an earlier phase of the narrative (*chap.* iii.) we may fitly suppose a somewhat different communication; *vv.* 11-14 must surely have been substituted for an earlier passage containing an express call of Samuel to be a prophet of Yahweh (*cp.* *v.* 20) and a more tender revelation of the fall of Eli's house.⁵

The story of the facts which preceded the communication is briefly this. It was late in the night, and Samuel was sleeping beside the most sacred object of Israel's religion, *i.e.* probably a carved stone symbol of the compound deity, Arman-'Arbith, better known in later times as Yahweh (of) Hosts.⁶ Now it is expressly stated (*v.* 7) that Eli's young

¹ לִשְׁכָּה. Cp. 1 S. ix. 22, and Löhr's note.

² Klostermann's correction adopted by Budde (*Samuel* in *SBOT*).

³ καὶ κατέσθη ἐνώπιον Κυρίου, Θ. Cp. *v.* 12.

⁴ See *E. Bib.*, 'Nazirite,' 2.

⁵ See Budde, *Samuel*, p. 25. The invention of *ii.* 27-36 accounts for this.

⁶ In *T. and B.* pp. 35, 55, 100 *f.*, I have sought to show that 'ārōn

minister had no reason to expect a dream-vision. But this was the favour which this child of prayer was to receive to-night (cp. Gen. xxviii. 11 ff., xlv. 1 ff.; 1 K. iii. 5 ff.). It seemed as if the great Being who willed to inhabit the sacred stone called to Samuel. Twice this occurred, and twice Samuel ran to Eli, for he thought the old priest had summoned him. Then, a third time, the call was heard, and Eli, when the youth told him, perceived that Yahweh had spoken. 'And Eli said to Samuel, Go, lie down (to sleep); and then, if he call thee, say, Speak, O Yahweh, for thy servant hearkeneth.' And so it came to pass. Yahweh once more called Samuel, and this time he came in human form—so the ancient narrator imagined the climax of the vision.

And why have I retold the familiar story? Certainly not because of the oracle (iii. 11-14) to which it leads up, for this is by no means worthy of its position. The original passage was no doubt more fit. I have retold the story, because of the sweet, simple faith which Eli and Samuel both display. The prayer of Hannah and the trustful alacrity of Samuel's answer to his God are the gems of these three chapters. The story of the child Moses is certainly interesting, but that of the young Samuel is religiously more valuable. Moses and Samuel, however, may well be coupled here. Both, according to the saga, saw Yahweh face to face; both were mighty in prayer. The imagination of Israel's religious writers is seen here at its best.

Of course, we must take the different parts of the composite narrative separately. Chaps. i.-iii. and cp. ix.-x. 16 are both fine narratives, but were not intended to be read together. If there was a Samuel at all he was a 'seer' and not a prophet, and consequently the story of a young priest's night-vision in the temple at Shiloh, and all that belongs to it, has no connexion with the true Samuel (if such a person (ark) is a late edifying alteration of 'armon or 'arman, i.e. Yerahme'el, and *bērīth* (covenant) of 'arbīth (Arabian goddess), also that *kērūb*, whence *kērūbīm*, comes from *rekūb*, a shortened form of *rekūbel* (= Yerahme'el). Yahweh-Šeba'oth, it should be added, was originally Yahweh-Sham'ith (Sh. = Ishmaelitess); this, in 1 S. iv. 4, 2 S. vi. 2, is an explanatory gloss on Arman-Arbith.

there was). Still more impossible is it to accept the late story of his reformation, which is but a poor copy of that ascribed to Elijah (see next section), and of his rulership, which interferes with the claims of Saul. But can we safely follow the legend in any particular? We have a trustworthy account of the rise of Saul in 1 S. xi.; why should we burden ourselves with the story of the secret anointing of Saul by Samuel (1 S. x. 1)? And though we may safely assume that a war with the Amalekites would be initiated by an oracle, we have no textual grounds for assigning this supposed oracle to a seer called Samuel. (Observe that the Samuel of chap. xv. is modelled, partly on Elijah, partly on such a prophet as Hosea.)

Thus, step by step, we are reduced to the meagre supposition that there may have been, in the time of Saul, a much-respected 'seer' named Samuel. But what is the good of this? And why, if the Hebrew writers have such a fine faculty of imagination, should we deny them the capacity of selecting a name for a representative hero, who sums up the tendencies and peculiarities of a class or a period? In fact, the fictitious character of the name is all the more probable because the names Sha'ul and Shemu'el are ultimately equivalent, and both, with Ishmael and Shobal, come from the N. Arabian tribe named Shema' (= Sheba').¹ That the story of Saul is wholly imaginative I do not say. The name Sha'ul (Saul), therefore, may have been the real name of the first king.² In any case it probably suggested the name Shemu'el. The parallelism of the two names seems to be symbolical of the common origin of their respective bearers, and of the real or imaginary connexion of Saul and Samuel in the transitional period of the history of Israel. For Sha'ul and Shemu'el may be taken (see below) to imply the Ishmaelite, *i.e.* N. Arabian, origin of those who were called by these names. It will be seen presently

¹ In 1 S. i. 28 the explanation given of Shemu'el applies, not to that word, but to Sha'ul. The names are often confounded (see *E. Bib.*, 'Saul,' § 1 b). That 'Shem' comes from Ishman = Ishmael, may also, in this connexion, be fitly mentioned. See *T. and B.* p. 117.

² Cp., however, *E. Bib.*, *l.c.* The personal name Sha'ul may have been imagined on the basis of the district name (cp. Gibeath-Sha'ul (1 S. xv. 34).

that Elijah, too, was locally a N. Arabian. An important parallel, considering the Elijah and Elisha elements¹ in the picture of Samuel.

If the view here taken be correct, the genealogy of Samuel (1 S. i. 1) is fictitious, while that of Saul (1 S. ix. 1) may be authentic. I have elsewhere studied both genealogies,² and found that they show both Samuel and Saul to have been, in the opinion of the narrators, locally and racially N. Arabians, though belonging, of course, to a group of Israelite clans. It may be desirable to give my revised results with reference to Samuel. There seem to be two accounts of his father Elkanah. According to the one, he was of Mt. Ephraim; according to the other, an Ephrathite. The two descriptions agree, since Ephrath is the fem. of the name (which we may perhaps read 'Epher'), which forms the first part of אפרים (the second part—ים—is the short for ימן, i.e. N. Arabia).³ In the first account of Elkanah we are also told that he was 'a man of Ashhur' (אשחור for אחד), the short for Ashhur-Yerahme'el, i.e. N. Arabia. Also that he was of Ramath-Yaman (רמ-הרמתי), to which is added, as a gloss on 'Yaman,' צופים, or rather ציפנים = צבענים, 'Sib'onites' (= N. Arabians). ירחם, in the second account, is Yarham (= Yerahme'el), which, as Mr. S. A. Cook has also pointed out, of itself shows the southern origin of Samuel. 'Elihu' follows 'Yarham' somewhat awkwardly, being itself, though certainly N. Arabian (see Job xxxii. 2), a personal name. 'Tohu,' like Tahath and Tahan, comes from the clan-name Naphtoah, again a N. Arabian name (on Gen. x. 13).⁴ 'Suph' should, of course, be 'Siphon'; Ⲅ has ἐν νασειβ = ἐν σειβαν.⁵

There are several other textual errors or misunderstandings which need correction if the Samuel narratives are to be understood:—

(1) Shiloh, for instance, where Eli was chief priest, where was it? Judg. xxi. 12 enables us to answer, In

¹ Mr. S. A. Cook (*Notes on O.T. History*, pp. 34 f.), as it seems to me, exaggerates these elements. But no ingenuity can explain them all away.

² See *Critica Biblica*, part iii.

³ *T. and B.* pp. 472 f.

⁴ See *T. and B.* pp. 190 f.

⁵ נַיִב in 1 S. x. 5, xiii. 3 can now be understood.

the land of Canaan. But Canaan was originally in N. Arabia.¹ A more decisive account of Shiloh is given in 1 S. i. 9, where *ואחרי שנה* should be *הוא אשחור אשתר*,² 'that is, Ashhur [Ashtar]'; 'Ashtar' is a variant to 'Ashhur.' Eli, the chief priest of Shiloh, has no genealogy, but his two sons (really there can only have been one) bear names derived from Naphtoah-Ashhur.³ The inference from these combined is difficult to withstand. There was one greatest sanctuary of Yahweh⁴ in N. Arabia; it was at Shiloh. From Jer. vii. 12 we learn that the temple of Shiloh was destroyed; when, remains a secret of Providence.⁵ So honoured was it, owing to the presence of a stone-symbol of Yahweh-Arman (p. 116 (n. 6)), that the narrator of Samuel's early fortunes places the young saint there to be trained by Eli. In its position as chief sanctuary of Israel in N. Arabia this house of Yahweh was probably succeeded by that at Asshur-Yarham,⁶ and in 1 S. ii. 36 priestly descendants of Eli are represented (in the style of prophecy) as crouching to the 'faithful priest' for a post in this greatest of southern sanctuaries.⁷

(2) The Ramah, where both Elkanah and Samuel are traditionally said to have lived, was probably Ramoth-Gilead. As we shall see again and again,⁸ there was a N. Arabian Gilead adjoining the southern Aram. Now we see how Saul came to be so zealous in the cause of Jabesh-Gilead. As a N. Arabian Israelite he naturally interested himself in this important southern city.

(3) The name Gilead, both in the Hebrew and in the Greek, is often confounded with 'Gilgal.' This may be the case in 1 S. vii. 16, x. 8, xi. 14 f., xiii. 4, 7 b, xv. 12; see also on 2 K. ii. 1; Hos. ix. 15. In all these passages 'Gilgal'

¹ *T. and B.* p. 175; *D. and F.* pp. 67, 95.

² *T. and B.* p. 362 (n. 3).

³ *T. and B.* p. 173.

⁴ Strictly of Yahweh-Arman or Yahweh-Sham'ith.

⁵ Probably, however, it was in the time of David. If earlier, how is it that neither Saul nor Samuel troubled himself about the fate of the Palladium of Israel? Cp. S. A. Cook, *Notes on O. T. History*, p. 37.

⁶ See *D. and F.* pp. 27, 115 f., 143, 152 f.

⁷ This temple, like that of Yahu at Elephantine, is called, even in MT., by the singular term *אנורה*. See *D. and F.* p. 24, n. 1.

⁸ See on 1 K. xvii. 1; Am. i. 3.

should perhaps be 'Gilead.' We must remember, however, that 'Gilead' may sometimes be a place-name (see on Hos. vi. 8).

(4) Bethel, one of Samuel's places of judgment (1 S. vii. 16), is a popular alteration of Ethbal, a N. Arabian ethnic (*T. and B.* p. 371; *D. and F.* p. 19, n. 2). In fact, Ethbal, Gilead, and Mizpeh are all N. Arabian names. May we not have mistaken the meaning of the tradition, and supposed Samuel's judgeship to extend literally over all Israel, whereas tradition merely means the Israelite inhabitants of part of the southern border-land?

(5) There is a strange phrase in xi. 7, which may seem to imply that Saul and Samuel shared the supreme authority. But the phrase is misread. **ואחר שמואל** should be **ואשחור** **ישמעאל**, 'that is, Ashhur-Ishmael,' which is a gloss on 'all the territories of Israel.' Saul's eloquent symbol was sent to the Israelites in N. Arabia.

(6) Who the Amalekites were has not been fully made out. They were simply a branch of the Yerahme'elites (**עמלק** from **קמאל** [יר])¹; cp. 1 S. xv. 7 with Gen. xxv. 18. Hence in the account of Saul's treatment of his enemies (xv. 8 f.) it is said that 'all Ishman and Sib'on they (Saul and the people) destroyed utterly.' **נבזה** = **ישמן**; **נבזה** (so read) = **צבעון**. This is confirmed by **משנים**² (same verse) = **ישמנים**, Ishmanites, i.e. Ishmaelites.

It has now, I hope, been shown that the setting of the Samuel narratives is N. Arabian. With a further expenditure of space it could have been shown conclusively that the scene of the activity of Saul is also N. Arabian. But as it was impossible to disconnect Saul from Samuel, sufficient reason had to be given for a sceptical attitude towards the still current views both of Samuel and of Saul. In short, it is very difficult not to hold that when, in 1 S. iii. 20, we read that 'all Israel, from Dan to Beer-sheba, perceived that Samuel was a trustworthy prophet of Yahweh,' and in vii. 15 that 'Samuel judged Israel all the days of his life,' the reference is, not to Palestine, but to the N. Arabian border-land. Nor is it, even upon the incomplete evidence adduced, much less

¹ Cp. on Num. xxiv. 20.

² See on Zeph. i. 10, and cp. *D. and F.* pp. 18, 39.

evident that the realm of Saul, according to the earliest form of the extant tradition, was not any part of what we call Canaan, but in the N. Arabian border-land.

From less 'heretical' evidence it is, I think, plain that the Samuel-narratives have no historical basis. Mr. Stanley A. Cook indeed hardly goes quite as far, but step by step the textual evidence forces us on, and I hope that he will yet recognise this. The following statement of his fully expresses my own views:—

'Originally, it is possible that Saul rose without the intervention of Samuel. There was a tendency in certain circles to magnify the part played by prophetic or priestly figures in the history of great political events, and considering the immense importance of Saul's period it would not be surprising if tradition, perhaps at a comparatively early stage, associated the rise of the new king with the prophet's activity.'¹

This scholar is also clear as to the Yerahme'elite origin of Samuel, in spite of the fact that Samuel is 'indisputably Ephraimite as the narratives stand.'² The context shows, however, that he has not yet solved the mystery of 'Ephraim,' any more than he has quite solved the mystery of Saul's home or that of the 'Pelishtim' (Philistines).³

My own solutions of these and the related problems are leading me by degrees to a historical synthesis which I think adds greatly to my own pleasure in reading the Old Testament. I beg my readers not to be too much distracted from making a similar synthesis by the inevitable preliminary negations. I now pass on to a much greater figure than Samuel, but will first express the regret which all Bible students must feel that no record has come down to us of what may, to a primitive imagination, have been the divinely protected childhood of the prophet Elijah.

¹ *Notes on O.T. History*, pp. 49 f.

² *Ibid.* p. 98.

³ Saul was a Yamanite, or, more particularly, we may probably put him down as a southern Gileadite. For the 'Pelishtim,' see *D. and F.*, introd., pp. xx.-xxiv.

4. ELIJAH AND ELISHA SECTION

The finest specimens of Israelite hagiography are the narrative sketches in 1 and 2 Kings from the lives of the prophets Elijah and Elisha. These two men, like Moses, are represented in heroic proportions, but their stories, unlike that of Moses, have an undeniably historical setting. Like all popular stories they must have grown, and from the first they doubtless contained a large imaginative element. But at a period, comparatively speaking so recent, it is permissible to suppose that the men themselves are idealised historical persons. The course of primitive religion everywhere favours the view that supernaturally gifted men interfered upon occasion, in the name of divine beings, with the doings of chieftains and kings. There may, or may not, have been prophets under the Omri dynasty politically quite as important as the Elijah and Elisha of legend, but even if the outward form of these men has been idealised, there must be a sufficient element of fact below the surface to make a careful study of the legends desirable. Nor may we even claim exemption from the duty of methodical textual criticism, for unless the text be secure the superstructure will not command confidence.

Even the names of this pair of heroes may conceivably be historical. *Eli-yahu* (if = *Yahu* is my God) may indeed appear at first sight to have been invented to suit the narrative (see 1 K. xviii. 39), while *Eli-sha* (if = my God is deliverance) may seem to accord suspiciously with the prophet's unbrokenly victorious career (cp. also 2 K. xiii. 17). The names, however, are not more extraordinary than *Eli-hu* (if = my God is He), *Yesha-yahu* (if = *Yahu* is deliverance), and other names which might be mentioned, and do not appear to have excited any surprise. The truth is that religious names were so common that, except in very special circumstances, a name of this sort could hardly be much of an omen. Probably enough the names given to children were to a large extent conventional; probably, too, even the names which seem most plainly religious were, when they first became family names, by no means religious. Often,

probably, they did but state the race, or people, or clan, or region to which the individual belonged. This may quite well be the case with the prophetic names Eliyahu and Elisha, and with the contemporary royal names Ahab and Jehoram, which at an earlier time were longer, and expressed ethnographical or geographical conceptions.¹ The truth is that Yerahme'elite or N. Arabian names were common both in N. and in S. Israel, and that priests (*kemārim*), prophets, and warriors were continually passing the border, and establishing themselves in the land of Israel.

It is very possible that Omri, first captain of the host, and then king of Israel, was originally a N. Arabian adventurer; and it was in his reign presumably that Elijah was growing to maturity. And one cannot help supposing that Elijah himself, before he became a wanderer, had his home in the N. Arabian border-land. So far as we can tell, Amos and Hosea were primarily prophets of this Israelite border-territory, and they cannot, for various reasons, have been the first prophets of Israel to stand up for Yahweh against Baal. There must have been some others before them, and to obtain space for development we must assume the existence of disciples of Elijah and Elisha, from whom Amos and Hosea learned.

The original life of Elijah must, at the outset, have thrown some light upon these points. Doubtless, not half so much light as we should have desired, but still enough to help our faltering steps. That something has been omitted which stood, in this biography, before 'And Elijah the Tishbite (?) said to Ahab,' is plain. The abruptness with which Elijah is introduced (1 K. xvii. 1) cannot have accorded with the intention of the original narrator. Why

¹ אליהו probably comes from באליהו; אלישע from באלירח; for the attrition of באל, cp. בעלירע (1 Chr. xiv. 7), for which 2 S. v. 16 gives אלירע. A further stage towards באליהו would be באלירח, for which cp. בעלירח (1 Chr. xii. 5). Other names to be compared are בעלים (Jer. xl. 14), and אלישע (2 S. v. 16), אלישע (2 S. v. 15). בעשא (1 K. xv. 33) is only analogous. Of course, by באל or בעל not the divine 'Baal' is meant, but a mutilated form of ירבעל or ירבעל (= ירחשאל). ירחו is shortened from ירחמו (T. and B. p. 65), ישמע from ישמעאל (cp. 1 Chr. iv. 3). אחאב is explained on Hos. iii. 1. ירום or יהורם, was originally ירחורם. Both ירחו and רם (= ארם, the southern Aram) are regionals.

is Elijah called 'the Tishbite'? Where (cp. מִזְדָּה, 'hence' v. 3) and why did he confront the king with this stern oracle withholding the fruits of the soil? To these questions the only answer is to be gained from a gloss in 1 K. xvii. 1, and from a statement (from the Annals?) interwoven with the account of Ahab in 1 K. xvi. 29-33. Let us endeavour to make the most of these passages.

Few, I imagine, will any longer adhere to the pointed Hebrew text,¹—'Elijah the Tishbite, of the sojourners (*inquilini*) in Gilead.' Much more naturally **¶** renders the unpointed text, '. . . who was of Tishbe in Gilead.' This is generally illustrated by Tobit i. 2, where mention is made of a place Thisbe in Galilee. The names Galilee and Gilead may have been confounded. It is not likely, however, that such a personage as Elijah should have been connected by legend with a place so little known elsewhere and bearing so incomprehensible a name.

Surely, then, underneath תִּשְׁבִּי, or rather תִּשְׁב,² there must be some more intelligible name than Tishbe. It must, of course, be in Gilead, but there was not only an eastern but a southern Gileadite region (see on Am. i. 3), and it is this to which the original tradition must be taken to have referred. The best hypothesis is one based on the assumption of the transposition and confusion of letters. תִּשְׁב, a corrupt place-name, is to be grouped with בִּשְׁת, a corrupt name of the divine consort of Baal. The one has come from שְׁבַעַת, the other from שְׁבַעִית; ultimately, however, they come from forms in which ט took the place of ב. If so, Elijah was not a Tishbite, but a Shimeathite. In 1 Chr. ii. 55 we read of Shimeathites (שִׁמְעָתִי) among the families of Sopherim (*i.e.* not 'scribes,' but men of Sophereth or Šarephath) who dwelt, not in Yabeš, but in Šib'on (a N. Arabian region). In Gen. xxxi. 23, we find Jacob fleeing from Laban's house דֶּרֶךְ שְׁבַעַת יָמִים, where יָמִים should probably be יָמָיִם, so that Shib'ath was a place in Yaman, and in xxvi. 33 a well in the south-land is called שְׁבַעַת. In 1 Chr. iii. 5 one of the sons of the N. Arabian David is called Shimeah. In Ex. vi. 17 a son, or family, of the

¹ See, however, Erbt, *Elia, Elisa, Jona*, p. 15.

² *T. and B.* p. 18 (n. 2).

N. Arabian Gershon is called Shimei. In 2 K. xii. 22 we find Shimeath; Shemaiah and Shemaiahu are too familiar to need references. We can now explain the enigmatical name שְׁבַתִּי (commonly read 'Shabbethai') in Ezr. x. 15; Neh. viii. 7, xi. 16, which should be שְׁמַעְתִּי.

It needs no showing that שְׁמַעְתָּ or שְׁמַעָה, as well as cognate forms, entered N. Israel from the south; it was in the N. Arabian border-land that it was chiefly at home. And we cannot doubt that all these names are closely connected with 'Ishmael,' which, with Yerahme'el, and Asshur, were old Hebrew designations of N. Arabia. And now it has to be added that another form equivalent to שְׁבַת is שְׁפַת or, in usage, שֶׁפֶט (cp. תַּבַּל and תַּפַּל, both from אֶתְבַּעַל). Another group of illustrative names naturally occurs to us, שְׁפַטָּן, שְׁפַטִּיר, שְׁפַטִּיה, יְהוֹשָׁפָט. Hence it becomes easy to explain—(1) the otherwise enigmatical phrase in Joel iv. 12, 'the valley of Yehoshaphat' (ultimately from 'Yarhu-Shimeath'), and (2) the phrases which will presently require attention (see on 1 K. xix. 16), 'Yehu ben Yehoshaphat' and 'Elisha ben Shaphat' (1 K. xix. 16, 19; 2 K. ix. 2). All these phrases are distinctively N. Arabian, and the second and third stamp Jehu (Yehu) and Elisha as countrymen, if not even neighbours, of Elijah.

We have next to seek an answer to the question, Where and why did Elijah confront the king with his stern message? Was king Ahab residing at the time at the lately built capital of N. Israel—Shomeron, *i.e.* Samaria, or in his palace at Jezreel (xviii. 46, xxi. 1), or at a Shimron in the N. Arabian territory occupied by Israel? In my opinion a twofold answer must be given. These are parts of the cycle of Elijah-stories, where the scene is evidently laid in N. Arabia, and where, consequently, Ahab and Jezebel must have been represented as residing in the border-land. We must take each story by itself, and ascertain whether it is N. Arabian or N. Israelite. The Kerith-story, the two Şarephath-stories, and the Horeb-story, relate to N. Arabia; it is therefore natural to suppose that the circumstances which preceded the escape to Kerith were connected, in the original tradition, with the southern border-land. If so, whatever later redactors may have thought, the early

narrators represented Ahab as residing at the southern Shimron (see on Am. iii. 12, vi. 1).

Next, why did Elijah, uninvited, approach the king? The reason is at any rate suggested in 1 K. xvi. 31-33, xxi. 25. He married Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Šidonians, who 'stirred him up' to 'work wickedness' by building a house for Baal and making an Asherah. In the legend itself we are even told that the Israelites had thrown down Yahweh's altars, and slain all his prophets except Elijah (1 K. xix. 10). In the latter statement there is doubtless exaggeration, but Ewald¹ is surely right in the interpretation which he gives of the oracle of Elijah. 'As though the whole creation was compelled to mourn such horrors, Yahweh commands the rain not to fall in blessing upon the land.'

How far we can accept the tradition of the hagiographers is a question interesting in itself, but likely to involve much digression. Suffice it therefore to notice results, *e.g.* that the Šidonian king whose daughter became Ahab's wife was probably a N. Arabian,² and that his name 'Ethbaal' is a corruption of 'Ishmael,'³ while Jezebel, or rather Izebel, is a shortened form of 'Abizebel,' *i.e.* 'Arabia of Ishmael.'⁴ But let it be noted also that Ahab's father was probably a N. Arabian, and, even apart from this, that the Israelites were of N. Arabian origin, and that their God, historically speaking, came also from N. Arabia. It may well have seemed to Ahab politically expedient to intermarry with the royal house of Šidon; just so, not love, but political interest will have been the real motive of Solomon's Šidonian marriage, if 1 K. xi. 1 may really be trusted. I suspect, however, that the Šidonian wife was really the Mišrite princess who plays a prominent part in the early traditional account of Solomon. Šor and Šidon are very closely connected, and Šor (*i.e.* Mišsor) and Mišrim must be equivalent. Possibly, indeed, both Solomon⁵ and Ahab were vassals of the king of Mišrim for the time being. In this

¹ *History of Israel*, iv. 104.

² On the southern Šidon, see *T. and B.* pp. 17, 314, 514.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 103, 161.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 46.

⁵ See *E. Bib.*, 'Solomon.'

case we can well understand that the Baal and Ashtart of Sidon or Mišsor would be placed in a position of the highest honour in the most important Israelite towns. But how far was Elijah really opposed to all forms of the cults of Baal and Ashtart? Probably there was a difference in the type of cults in different parts of the Israelite land, and any distinctive Arabian peculiarities would be most conspicuous in the N. Arabian territory which Ahab, no less than Solomon, occupied, and especially in a city of the importance of Shimron. Whether Elijah was as much opposed to the Israelite Baal as he could not help being opposed to the Arabian, is a question. The older Israelites were addicted to the worship, not of Baal alone, nor of Baal and Ashtart alone, but of this god and this goddess in due subordination to Yahweh. Had the greater prophets of Ahab's time discovered that as long as there was a plurality of deities, there would be a constant danger of the usurpation of Yahweh's supremacy by Baal (*i.e.* Yerahme'el)? Certainly Amos recognised this danger. But did Elijah and Elisha, who were men, not so much of thought, as of action?

There are two divine names, one of which is put by the narrator into the mouth of a faithful worshipper of Yahweh, named Obadiah, and of certain prophets of Yahweh, and the other into that of Elijah and Elisha themselves, which induce me to consider it a doubtful point. As the text of the narratives stands, indeed, there can be no suspicion of a belief in a plurality of Israelite deities. But the seeming innocence of the phrases must not blind us to their improbability in the age of Elijah. The first is *ruah Yahweh* (as if 'spirit of Yahweh'); the other *Yahweh-seba'oth* (as if 'Yahweh-hosts'). Reasons will be given later on (see on I K. xviii. 12; Am. iii. 13) for thinking that in both these cases redactors who were strict Yahwists manipulated, for their own ends, the corresponding divine names of early tradition. These names, which the original narrators had no scruple in making their heroes use, are Yerahme'el-Yahweh and Yahweh-Šib'onith. Now Baal is simply, as I have shown, a mutilated form of Yarba'al, and Yarba'al is a corruption of Yerahme'el. Worshipers of Yahweh, therefore, were also at that time worshipers of

Ba'al, and they were also even worshippers of Ashtart, for Sib'onith is one of the titles of Ashtart. The danger of thus fusing the worship of three deities, one whom alone was in a high degree progressive, was not yet seen.

But the danger of worshipping a god, or a divine pair, separate from Yahweh *was* seen. And to punish Ahab and his people—more especially the Israelites of the N. Arabian border-land—a long drought was sent. Such at least is evidently the meaning of the narrator. The word of Yahweh's prophet brought the drought, and only that prophet's word, conditional on the repentance of the people, could take it away. Hence the oracle leaves the duration of the famine uncertain. Elijah, however, knowing Ahab's tenacity, thinks that it may perhaps last for several years.¹ Ultimately the duration becomes three years² (1 K. xviii. 1), unless indeed we care to make Elijah a lunar hero, on which Wilhelm Erbt³ has an ill-founded suggestion. 'Three' as here used, is a conventional number; the convention may have had a mythological basis, but one that had long since been forgotten when the tradition assumed a written form. According to Winckler, the original statement was that the drought lasted for one year; by a still greater refinement of speculation he makes this a purely allegorical statement, the meaning of which is that political supremacy in Palestine was transferred from Tyre to Damascus. In fact, Winckler, with most critics, following Josephus,⁴ parallels the Hebrew legend of the drought by a passage (quoted by the Jewish writer) from Menander the Tyrian's account of the reign of Ithobalos.⁵ In this I think he is wrong. It is not the Phoenician Şor (Tyre) with whom the Hebrew narratives bring Ahab into connexion, but the Şor, *i.e.* Mişsor, in N. Arabia, nor is there any cogent reason for giving the traditional word 'famine' either in Menander or in the Hebrew legend an allegorical signification. In truth, on

¹ In Elisha's time (2 K. viii. 1) we hear of a famine which lasted for seven years.

² 'In the third year' probably means 'at the end of the third year.' The love of seeming accuracy led to the singular deviation in Luke iv. 25, James v. 17, 'three years and six months.'

³ *Eliä*, etc., pp. 59 f.

⁴ *Ant.* viii. 324.

⁵ *KAT*⁽³⁾, pp. 249 f., cp. p. 130.

Winckler's theory, the battle of cults must in the original story have been, not between Yahweh and Baal, but between Baal and Rimmon, *i.e.* between practically equivalent deities.¹ I may add that though the names Ithobal (the king of Tyre in Menander) and Ethbaal (the king of the Sidonians in 1 K.) are superficially rather similar, they have not altogether the same origin.²

If a special motive for the Hebrew legend is wanted, it is enough to specify a desire to magnify Yahweh and his prophet Elijah. What a poor hagiographer the narrator would have seemed if he had not been able to tell of rain sent and rain withheld! So, then, he means just what he says; infidelity to Yahweh is punished by a sore famine. But Ahab—a brave, bold man—is not to be cowed by the *ipse dixit* of a prophet. It is plain that he rejected the message and scowled at the messenger. But Yahweh did not forsake his servant. He bade Elijah leave the city and turn towards K̄edem, and hide himself by the wādy (נחל) Kerith, which is 'before (*i.e.* east of) Jordan' (1 K. xvii. 3). Here, however, the text needs examination. 'K̄edem' is not indeed impossible,³ but when, as here and in Gen. xxix. 1, we find K̄edem used as a regional, it is best to view it as the redactor's modification of רקם, *i.e.* ירחם (Yarham).⁴ The name of the wādy has also doubtless been corrupted, but only in the natural process of detrition. It is needless, therefore, to seek for some name on the modern map of Palestine or N. Arabia which may be distantly suggestive of Kerith.⁵ All that we can do is to seek to understand the name. To do this we must group it aright, *i.e.* with the ethnic Kerethites,⁶ and perhaps with קרית and קריות in proper names,⁷ which appear to originate either in נפתור (Kaphtor) or in אשחורת (Ashḥoreth or Ashḥart), which is

¹ *T. and B.* p. 33 (n. 2).

² *Ibid.* pp. 46, 161.

³ See *E. Bib.*, 'Kadmonites.'

⁴ *T. and B.* pp. 180, 372.

⁵ Robinson thought of Wady el-Kelt. If a trans-Jordanic wady is wanted, one might suggest the Wady 'Ajlun or the Wady el-Yabis, both of which flow into the Jordan from the east. Carl Niebuhr thinks of the ravine in the land of Moab where Moses was buried (*Gesch. der Ebräer*, i. 291). But this spot is nameless.

⁶ See *D. and F.* pp. xx-xxiii., 130 (n. 3).

⁷ *T. and B.* pp. 191 f., 335.

the feminine form of the N. Arabian regional name אַשְׁחֹר or אַשְׁחֹרָה.

It is true the reading of the present text is inconsistent with this. Both in *v.* 3 and in *v.* 5 we find the phrase 'the Wādy Kerīth which is before Jordan.' The latter part of the phrase, however, is clearly a redactional gloss; those to whom the story was first told had no need of the explanation. And we cannot be surprised if the redactor, to whom the present shape of the gloss is due, is mistaken; men of his craft often are. Apparently he had heard that Elijah was a Gileadite, but did not know that in early times there was another region called 'Gilead' besides that on the east of the Jordan. It is highly probable, however, that there was, and an earlier redactor seems to have known it. It is perfectly possible that he read, not 'before Yarden' (יַרְדֵּן) but 'before Yarḥon' (יַרְחֹן), Yarḥon being probably the name of a boundary stream or wady in the N. Arabian border-land.¹

The purveyors of the prophet while he was in Kerith were Arabians (עֲרָבִים), which reminds us that the true traditional name of the place where Sarah died is Kiriath-arāb,² 'Arabian Kiriath' (Kiriath and Kerith are parallel corruptions of the same original). They were, no doubt, like the widow-woman of Šarephath, spiritual kinsmen of Elijah. His God and their God now gave them the charge of nourishing his fugitive prophet. Obadiah, a courtier of Ahab, had already done the like for other prophets of Yahweh. The food which twice a day they brought him was bread, for which an early scribe endeavoured to substitute flesh. This partly successful attempt deserves a brief explanation. The motive of it was a wish to support the reading, or more strictly pronunciation עֲרָבִים, 'ravens,' in preference to עֲרָבִים,³ 'Arabians,' which, being unacquainted with the N. Arabian Gilead, he may be excused for thinking unsuitable. Ravens, of course, would not have the means of

¹ *T. and B.* p. 228.

² עֲרָבִים is sometimes misspelled as עֲרָבִים. See *T. and B.* p. 335.

³ This vocalisation was rejected by Bochart, but seemed not impossible to Clericus. There is a similar mistake in Judg. vii. 25, where, for עֲרָבִים read עֲרָבִים. See *E. Bib.*, 'Oreb.'

supplying Elijah with the flat cakes of bread which were the usual food of his country-people; the scribe therefore substituted 'flesh.' The original reading, however, persisted by the side of the correction—a not uncommon textual phenomenon. Hence in MT. we find 'bread and flesh in the morning and bread and flesh in the evening,' and in G, 'bread in the morning and flesh in the evening.'

Had the scribe heard of stories of animals assisting human beings in the time of their need? Noah, for instance, received services from birds (including a raven), and Semiramis was nourished by doves.¹ It is possible. But the story of Elijah is not primitive, and if any animals were divinely charged to be helpful to a prophet, it would not be birds like the ravens, proverbial for their cruelty (Prov. xxx. 17). The Flood-story is not parallel to that of Elijah, being thoroughly primitive. Let us, then, persist in holding that the kindly foragers in *v.* 6, as well as in xviii. 13, are human.

Meantime the thin line of moisture left by the early heats in the wādy had disappeared, and the prophet was sent to another hiding-place. Kerith was apparently in a lonely region, though scattered Arabians were not wanting. But now Elijah was to seek refuge in a 'city' where already a divine stirring of the heart had prepared the way for his reception (*v.* 9). The city was Şarephath, and an early gloss states that it belonged to Şidon. What does this mean? Is it the well-known Şarephath on the highroad between Tyre and Şidon? If so, it would appear that Yahweh was a Phoenician deity, a theory which no one has yet been bold enough to maintain. The consequence is that Şarephath, like the Şidon over which Ethbaal reigned (p. 127), must have been in N. Arabia. There is nothing rash in this; the N. Arabian Şarephath is more often referred to than is commonly supposed; one of the most certain references occurs in Obad. 20. We may presume that both here and elsewhere there were many worshippers of Ba'al (= Yerahme'el) who were not disapproved of by Elijah,² because they subordinated this deity to a greater one, the rightful Director and Con-

¹ For other examples, see Gunkel, *Elias, Yahve und Baal*, p. 12.

² *T. and B.* pp. 62 (n. 2), 314.

troller of the Divine Company, Yahweh. And it seems to have been one of these—the widow-woman of Şarephath—who became Elijah's hostess.

To this view of the religion of the widow-woman it is no valid objection that in 1 K. xvii. 12 she uses the phrase 'Yahweh thy God.' For the same phrase is used by Elijah's friend Obadiah (xviii. 10), who was certainly a true worshipper of Yahweh. The implication is that no common Israelite or Yerahme'elite stood so near Yahweh as Elijah.¹ Afterwards she speaks of Yahweh in a way free from all ambiguity,—'Now by this I know that thou art a man of God, and that the word of Yahweh in thy mouth is truth' (xvii. 24).

The details of the story of Elijah at Şarephath need not be considered at great length. They were probably the commonplaces of hagiography. Similar things were related of Elisha, and we may suppose of other prophets unknown to us. Nor were they peculiar to the Israelites. The tale of the cruse or jar of oil, for instance, has its parallel in various folk-stories, several of which are mentioned by Gunkel.² One singular religious idea deserves attention. The idea that a trouble may have arisen from some one's having reminded Yahweh of a sin committed by oneself and as yet unpunished, is a primitive popular notion such as may have existed equally well among Israelites and Yerahme'elites. Indeed, in one of the Exodus-narratives (Ex. v. 21) we actually meet with the phrase, 'Yahweh look upon you and judge.' Yahweh, then, might not have observed; he was no more omniscient than the popular Ba'al (Yerahme'el) or Kemōsh. Such a God was not the Yahweh of the great prophets of a later generation, who were not only men of practice, but religious thinkers. But, as the event showed, the Yahweh of Elijah had in him, historically speaking, the promise of a great future.

We now pass on to a second legend, composite, as we shall see, like the first. But before doing so, let us duly recognise the importance of the results already obtained.

¹ Cp. Elijah's phrase, 'Yahweh my God' (xvii. 20 *f.*), and again, 'Yahweh Şeba'oth . . . before whom I stand' (xviii. 15).

² *Elias*, etc. p. 13.

It is clear that the pre-exilic colouring was not altogether effaced by the later redactors. One of our critics,¹ indeed, doubts whether the huge respect shown in these legends to the prophets can be thought to reflect pre-exilic conditions. But does he not forget the prevalence of a superstitious regard for 'men of God' among all primitive peoples? How far these narratives can be used for historical purposes is quite another question. This remark applies in a high degree even to chap. xviii.—the story of the great ordeal.

The dramatic power of the narrative will be universally admitted. In any Biblical anthology it would certainly occupy a place of honour. The leading 'motives,' however, are not original. The idea of a prophet confronting a king is not new; so Samuel, according to the legend, confronted Saul—Nathan, David—Isaiah, Ahaz—Jeremiah (virtually) Jehoiakim. Old, too, very old, is the idea that no human hand lighted the sacrificial flame, but fire from a well-pleased God (cp. Judg. vi. 21). There is indeed novelty in the ridicule directed by Elijah against the anthropomorphic Baal-worship, but can the text of xviii. 27 be relied on?

Let us now consider the narrative. The story of the ordeal has probably passed through several phases. Originally it may have been much more primitive, and been told in honour of the ancient sanctuary of Carmel. And even after the hagiographers began to interweave it with history, we can easily believe that other connexions suggested themselves first of all as desirable. It may, for instance, have been told how Elijah bearded the king in his palace, reproached him for his desertion of the old paths, and then summoned him to call a popular assembly at Mount Carmel. This having been done, fire from heaven consumed the sacrifice of Elijah.

The unknown scribe, however, to whom we owe xviii. 1-18 nearly as the passage now stands,² had a more complicated task. The tale of the ordeal had to be connected with that of the three years' famine. The latter story appears to have been condensed from a fuller narrative, for

¹ Stade, *Bibl. Theol. des A. T.* (1905), i. 132.

² The parenthesis about Obadiah (*vv.* 3 b, 4) is of course a gloss based on *v.* 13.

surely the original narrative must have given some direct information about the effects of the long drought. All that the present narrative tells us relates to the anxiety felt in the palace for the horses and mules—animals of great price. The king and his steward Obadiah divide the land between them, searching for any fountains and torrent-streams not yet quite dried up, near which some grass may still be left, 'that we lose not all the beasts' (human folk are not mentioned). Here I may observe that, while the story of the ordeal may have been originally derived from Mount Carmel, the connexion of the context is not with N. Israel but with the N. Arabian border-land. The famine, no doubt, affects N. Israel as well as N. Arabia (including the southern Sidon), but the narrator, as well as those for whom he wrote, is thinking especially of the Israelite territory in the border-land. It is here that, first Obadiah, and then Ahab, meets Elijah, who evidently (cp. 1 S. ix. 15) has a supernatural knowledge of what is about to take place. Obadiah, whose self-prostration (cp. 2 K. ii. 15) sufficiently indicates his high idea of Elijah, is bidden to announce the prophet's advent to the king, 'Go tell thy lord (not *my* lord), Behold Elijah.' The courtier, however, at first begs to be excused from so dangerous a commission. Small chance is there that he will escape scot free, for a certain divine Being¹ will doubtless lift Elijah up, and bear him (the idea is mythological²) to one of those bleak ravines in the mountains (2 K. ii. 16 *b*) where the prophet is at home and few besides. Already has Ahab sent for the obnoxious prophet to all the neighbouring peoples, just as Jehoiakim—one may add as a comment—sent to Mišrim at a later age for the too outspoken prophet Uriah (Jer. xxvi. 22 *f*).

This, we might have thought, would have been quite enough for Obadiah to say. The greatness of Elijah has been adequately extolled, and a lengthier speech would drag. But the narrator, perhaps to make up for some abridgment

¹ Who this Being probably is we shall see presently.

² There were Babylonian stories of heroes carried aloft by supernatural eagles, which may have filtered to the narrator of the original story. Cp. also Dt. xxxii. 11 (Yahweh compared to an eagle), which may be based on an ancient myth.

of the story of the ordeal, enlarges Obadiah's speech by a commendation of that courtier put into his own lips. Obadiah had, in fact, set a noble example of fidelity to conscience. He had hidden a hundred men, prophets of Yahweh, by fifty in a cave,¹ or if such dwelling on petty details be thought too undignified, 'by fifty in a cave' may be corrected into '[men of Ramshah] in Raamah,'² which harmonises well with our results elsewhere, and is reached by methodical textual criticism. Just now it is the obtaining of a consistent historical picture which engrosses our attention; text-critical matters must therefore be sought for in foot-notes.

It is perhaps only a gloss which tells us that the hundred prophets spoken of came from Ramshah. We have seen, however, that the nursery of prophetism was in N. Arabia, and that Ramshah³ was a place or district in that region; the gloss may therefore be safely followed. The text, indeed, itself (if rightly corrected) states that the refuge found for the prophets was in Ra'amah, which is probably another form of Ra'amah, and means some part of the southern Aram.⁴ Obadiah, by his connexions, was easily able to get the prophets safely to the border-land, and there 'the Arabians' would be as friendly to them as, according to xvii. 6, they had been to Elijah.

Elijah's answer contrasts with the speech of Obadiah alike by its boldness and by its brevity. He waits upon Yahweh before whom he stands, and Yahweh's bidding he will perform. It is remarkable that both speakers use divine names, the meaning of which is not perfectly clear (see p. 128). The names, as given in our text, are—*Ruah Yahweh* (v. 12) and *Yahweh Seba'oth* (v. 15). It is plausible to hold that *Ruah Yahweh* means a divine energy personified,⁵ and the parallel of Ezek. iii. 12, 14⁶ certainly shows that the divine spirit (*rûāḥ*) might be said to lift and carry away

¹ תַּשִּׁימוּם תַּשִּׁימוּם אִישׁ בְּמֵעָרָה.

² רַמְשָׁחַ [רַמְשָׁחַ]. See *T. and B.* pp. 552 f.

³ See *T. and B.* pp. 249, 261 (n. 2).

⁴ See *ibid.* pp. 176, 338, 446.

⁵ See Stade, *Bibl. Theol.* i. 99.

⁶ Observe that *rûāḥ* here has no article, and is not followed by *Yahweh*.

a man. Still, *Rūāḥ Yahweh* can hardly have been the original phrase, because, both here and in the parallel passage, 2 K. ii. 16, it is connected with a masculine verb. A much esteemed critic¹ thinks that originally *Yahweh*, not *Ruah Yahweh*, was the subject, and that *Rūāḥ* was added later to remove the anthropomorphism. I am glad of the admission that originally a divine proper name must have been given; if the original narrative was at all old, we can hardly avoid this supposition. In support of this view, I would refer to Gen. i. 2, where, though for different reasons, *rūāḥ ʾēlōhīm* may cover over the name or title of a (female) deity, and with more confidence to 1 K. xxii. 21, 22, 24, where *hā-rūāḥ*, followed by masculine verbs, must, as Stade recognises, have supplanted the designation of 'another celestial being.'

What then is the divine name which underlies the first part of *Rūāḥ Yahweh*? Our previous experience emboldens us to answer; it is *Yarḥam* or *Yerahme'el*.² The full name of the god of the early Israelites was *Yahweh-Yerahme'el*, or, as it may have been sometimes given, *Yerahme'el-Yahweh*. One may suppose that when the point to be emphasised was the supreme directorship of *Yahweh* the former combination was preferred, and that when the main point was the energetic impact of divinity upon humanity the form adopted was the latter. Elijah, as we have seen to be probable, had no hostility to a divine duad, but only to the adoption of the cult of *Ba'al* (= *Yerahme'el*) in preference to *Yahweh*, so vigorously pressed by Ahab's royal consort.

And now as to the important phrase *Yahweh Šeba'oth*, which Gressmann admits that he finds 'altogether unintelligible,' and many others find at any rate very difficult,—what, from the new point of view, can be suggested? Surely this, that the name has the appearance of being a compound name, *i.e.* that *Šeba'oth* may occupy the place of some divine name, and that the supplanted name should be one which might easily pass into the new name. And when we reflect upon experience already gained, the name which exactly suits the case will occur to us. The name *Yahweh-Šeba'oth*,

¹ Stade, in 'Kings' (critical text), *SBOT*, p. 152.

² Cp. *T. and B.* p. 20 (foot).

i.e. Yahweh-Hosts, owes its present form to the same earnest religious reformers who converted Ashkalath or (perhaps) Salekath into Sukkoth,¹ Shib'ith (= Ishme'elith) into *bōsheth*,² and Yarham or Yerahme'el probably into *Rūāh*. Originally Šeba'oth must have been Šib'ith, which is a shortened form of Šib'onith, *i.e.* Ishmaelites.³ The great N. Arabian goddess was originally worshipped beside Yahweh.⁴ 'That the higher teachers of Israel at an early period induced their disciples to read the safer word [Šeba'oth] can be easily understood.'⁵ Is there any more probable or illuminative explanation?

But to return to our narrative. Ahab and Elijah have their meeting. Obadiah, a mere pawn on the board, is heard of no more. The battle of words is begun by Ahab (*v.* 17). 'Who dares to intrude on the king? Is it thou, Bringer of disaster to Israel?'⁶ So then, whatever ill may come to Israel is set down to Elijah, for we need not suppose that the disasters referred to had already taken place. It was enough for Ahab that Baal had been provoked; the provocation would surely issue in national misfortunes. So Ahab reasoned, nor does Elijah pause to argue the matter. If the Supreme God has been offended He can be trusted to take vengeance on the offender. Who the Supreme God is, let Israel, not Ahab, decide.

This appears to be Elijah's meaning. It is a singular fact that the prophet, and not Ahab, determines the place where a popular assembly shall be convened. 'Singular,' I call it, because Mount Carmel⁷ appears to have been specially sacred either to Yahweh in his solitary greatness, or more probably to Yahweh as director of the divine duad or (if Ashtart be included) triad of the gods of Israel. True, the altar of Yahweh had been broken down (1 K. xviii. 30), but the ancient right of this god was too well known to the people to be disregarded.⁸ At any rate, so it fell out that

¹ *D. and F.* pp. 118 f.

² *T. and B.* p. 18 (n. 2).

³ *Ibid.* p. 20.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 17; Barton, *Semitic Origins*, p. 290.

⁵ *T. and B.* p. 20.

⁶ Θ ὁ διαστρέφων τὸν Ἰσραηλ.

⁷ See *E. Bib.*, 'Carmel,' but note that כרמל, like כרם in names, comes from כרמל (through ירחמל).

⁸ Possibly Ahab may have believed (rightly or wrongly) that the ancient altar on Carmel had been erected to Yerahme'el.

'Ahab sent to all the benê Israel, and gathered the prophets together to Mount Carmel' (v. 20). The prophets, of course, were prophets of Baal, and the true text of v. 19 states that they were four hundred in number.

Here, however, there is something to explain, viz., why I have felt obliged to deviate from the Hebrew text. The reasons are these:—'Four hundred and fifty' (though supported by v. 22) is not a probable number for the prophets of Baal. In 1 K. xxii. 6 (independent of the Elijah-narratives) we find Ahab assembling the prophets of Israel, and the narrator adds that they were 'about four hundred men.' Whether these prophets of Israel were really prophets of Baal or prophets of Yahweh (as the text states) does not immediately concern us; the point is that there were four hundred of them. So also, according to the MT. of 1 K. xviii. 19, there were four hundred prophets of 'the Asherah';¹ clearly this was the conventional number for a prophethood. Nor is it difficult to account for the additional fifty prophets of 'the Baal' in the MT. Here, no less than in vv. 4, 13, רמשהים has arisen by corruption out of רמשהים, 'men of Ramshah'; the original text stated that the prophets of Baal, as well as those of Yahweh, came from Asshurite Aram, i.e. from N. Arabia. But this is not all the explanation which I desire to furnish. It will be noticed that, for 'prophets of the Baal,' Θ gives *προφ. τῆς αἰσχύνης* (הבשת). בשת, however, which occurred in the Hebrew copy used by the Greek translator, was probably miswritten (not quite by accident?) for שבת, i.e. שבועית, a title of the great N. Arabian goddess, Asherah or Ashtart.² Evidently there were two readings, 'the prophets of the Baal four hundred,' and 'the prophets of the Asherah four hundred,'³ the former is preferable (see v. 40). 'Ramshahim' is of course a gloss.

Great interest was naturally taken in this passage in early times. This is clearly shown by the glosses. A part of these has been pointed out already. It remains to add that there is one more gloss in v. 19, which has become

¹ See *T. and B.* pp. 24-26, 378.

² *Ibid.* p. 18 (n. 2); *D. and F.* p. 33.

³ The four hundred prophets of Asherah are not mentioned in the MT. of v. 22, but Θ (BL) has them here too.

corrupted into אֲכָלִי, and has attached itself to two other corrupt words, viz. שִׁלְחַן אִיזָבֵל, which, however, are hardly to be regarded as a gloss. The sense produced—‘that eat (the food of) the table of Jezebel’—is certainly not perfect, especially here, but redactors were not concerned at this. אֲכָלִי (like אֲכָל sometimes from אֲשָׁכַל)¹ comes from אֲשָׁכָלִים, ‘Ashkalites,’² which is an alternative to רַמְשָׁחִים, ‘Ramshahites.’ As for שִׁלְחַן, it is plausible to correct it into מַנְחֵשִׁים. The sense of the phrase is ‘diviners of Jezebel.’ ‘Prophets’ and ‘diviners’ are, in fact, at one stage nearly equivalent, and Elijah might naturally refer to Jezebel as the head or director of the contemptuously styled ‘diviners.’ She was certainly Ahab’s director (1 K. xxi. 25), and the N. Arabian prophets in Ahab’s land were under her special protection (1 K. xviii. 4, xix. 1, 2).

We now return to the narrative. It is remarkable that Elijah should play the leading part in the dramatic story. One might have thought that Ahab would have seen the royal interests to be at stake, as Josiah probably did on a later occasion. Why did he not bring with him his trusty N. Arabian body-guard? He need not have made them too prominent, but they might have been placed conveniently in the background. But the king is not even mentioned until the rain comes, and then he drives away as hard as he can to Jezreel. This certainly confirms the view that the story of the battle of religions was not always in its present context. Originally it may have been a story of rival prophethoods. Representatives of the prophethood of Baal may have come to the prophets of Yahweh on Carmel, and challenged them to a test-sacrifice. In its present form, however, the story is more than this. The assembled people acts the part of umpire. Elijah, too, is here not merely the representative of the claims of Yahweh; he is first of all the reprover of the people, then the challenger of the rival prophets of Baal, then the arranger of the proceedings, and, finally, the avenger of the jealous Yahweh on the upstart prophets of another god. He opens the trial in a tone of caustic irony. The Israelites, as it seems to him,

¹ *T. and B.* p. 40 (n. 1); *D. and F.* p. 24 (n. 3).

² See *T. and B.* p. 247, and cp. pp. 18 (n. 4), 40 (n. 3).

are trying to serve two masters. This, however, is not Elijah's phrase, but 'How long will ye leap over both thresholds?' *i.e.* enter the sanctuaries of both deities—Yahweh and Baal—with an equal show of reverence. As we shall see later,¹ the threshold of a house, and especially of a sanctuary, was tabooed, so that those who would enter had to step or jump over it. Let the people, Elijah adds, at any rate, choose their god, and then loyally follow him. The appeal is useless; they do not venture to take up the proposal. So Elijah turns to the Baal-prophets, and tells them that he is the only remaining prophet of Yahweh,² a fact which justifies the concession mentioned in *v.* 25, but also already in *v.* 23, *viz.* that the Baal-prophets may take the initiative as regards the sacrifice. Accordingly the party in the majority (הַרְרִים, *v.* 25) prepares a bullock for sacrifice, after which Elijah does the like. Next, the ritual is duly carried out on both sides, including especially the solemn invocation of the deity. When this has been done, both parties agree that the God of heaven will signify which of them is in the right by sending down fire to consume one of the sacrifices.

The description of the rituals of Baal and Yahweh is most interesting. That of Baal consists, in the first instance, of a curious sort of 'limping' procession round the altar,³ accompanied by the repetition of the formula, 'O Baal! answer us' (*v.* 26),—probably various titles were joined to the great name Ba'al (Yerahme'el), but the narrator had no object in recording these. Similarly the kernel of the ritual of Yahweh appears to have been the solemn intoning of the formula, 'Answer me, O Yahweh! answer me' (*v.* 37), but without any dance or procession and without 'vain repetitions.' By rejecting these specially Baalite customs Elijah gained time for his own meditation and prayer. What he can be supposed to have prayed the narrator has

¹ See on Zeph. i. 9. The reading ספִּים for סעִים is due to Klostermann.

² This is plainly incorrect. Micaiah is referred to in 1 K. xxii. as a prophet of Yahweh, of the same type as Elijah.

³ *V.* 26 *b* (the limping) should have been placed after יַעֲשֶׂה in *a*. Only thus will there be a good connexion with *v.* 27. On the dance or procession, cp. *E. Bib.*, col. 1000.

divined, and committed to writing for a future generation (*vv.* 36 *f.*). This, however, was not the only way that this extraordinary and yet most human prophet spent his time. The futility of the 'limping' procession, of the mechanical repetition of the same formula, and of the ascetical self-mutilations, once more struck a vein of humour in his mind. 'When it was noon Elijah mocked them' (*v.* 27). One would gladly know how this caustic humour really expressed itself. The text, as rendered by Prof. Kent, runs thus, 'Cry aloud; for he is a god; either he is musing, or he has gone aside, or he is on a journey, or perhaps he is sleeping and must be awakened!' But, as Klostermann has pointed out, the first reason given—'for he is a god'—is irreconcilable with what follows, and since it can hardly be denied that the sequel is not free from difficulty, partly as regards form, and partly as regards contents, we have no option but to employ, as completely as we can, the methods, both old and new, of textual criticism. Let us venture to do this, and not 'linger shivering on the brink.' The result will, I think, be that we obtain this appropriate and characteristic sense, 'Cry aloud, for he is the god of Ishmael; Ashhur and Rekem are his,'¹ *i.e.* 'Cry as loud as you can, for his land is remote from Carmel; not Israel but Ishmael, not Canaan but the recesses of N. Arabia are Baal's rightful dominion.' The sarcastic turn given to the passage by the redactor is distinctively post-exilic (*cp.* Isa. xlv. 9-20; Ps. cxv. 4-8).

The four hundred prophets of Baal had no reply ready; what Elijah had said was indeed, though humorously expressed, plausible enough from their own point of view. Baal was, no doubt, primarily the supreme god of N. Arabia, and might not yet have been induced by Ahab and Jezebel to interest himself deeply in the land of Israel. The prophets' only chance, therefore, lay in making a perfectly deafening noise with their monotonous litany, and in gashing

¹ *שח* and *שנ* represent an original *אשח* and *נשר* respectively; the former is of course sufficient. For *שח*, see *T. and B.* p. 349. *דך* comes from *רקם*, *i.e.* *ירחם*. *אולי יישן* (*ויקן* is a late redactional insertion) is a corruption of *אלהי ישמן*; *אלהי ישמן* and *ישמן* often stand for *ישמעאל*. *אשח* is a correction of *אלהים*. Continue (after *הוא*), *לוי*, *אשח* ורקם לו.

their flesh¹ with weapons (*v.* 28). The object of these rites is obvious. That of the first is to draw the attention of a busily engaged deity; that of the second, to prove the willingness of the devotees to sacrifice themselves to their god, for 'the blood is the life' (*Dt.* xii. 23). Thus the devotees of the story were, as Hubert Grimme remarks, dervishes who had in addition the gift of prophecy. It should be noted, however, that 'prophesying' in the O.T. sometimes has the sense of acting wildly as none but devotees and prophets would act. This is the case, for instance, in *v.* 29: 'And when noontide was past, they prophesied until the time of the offering of the oblation; but there was neither sound nor answer, nor any attention.'

It was now Elijah's turn (*v.* 30). Whether the altar on Mount Carmel was really Yahweh's altar, and whether it had really been broken down, may be left open. At any rate, the reparation of it by Elijah² is at once dramatically effective and religiously significant. Then comes the momentous sacrificial act, accompanied with the repeated pouring of water to enhance the expected miracle. And at last, after Elijah's prayer, the fire of Yahweh falls and consumes the burnt offering, and also the wood, and the stones, and the dust; moreover it 'licks up' the water in the trench (*v.* 38). This is the climax of the story—the decision of the divine Judge. All that remained was for the people to recognise this by humble self-prostration, and by the loud and unanimous confession, 'Yahweh, he is God; Yahweh, he is God' (*v.* 39). But what is to be done with the defeated prophets of Baal? Shall they be sent back to N. Arabia? That will give them a chance of coming back and renewing the mischief. Such an act would not have seemed worthy of praise to early Israelites, who were a jealous, intolerant race. So Elijah (with the co-operation of the people) 'took them down (*i.e.* the whole body of prophets!) to the torrent stream of Kishon, and slaughtered them there' (*v.* 40). Cp. Samuel's action, 1 S. xv. 33 (*p.* 114).

¹ See on Hos. vii. 14, and cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Cuttings of the Flesh' (Ball), § 1.

² *Vv.* 31, 32 *a* (twelve tribes!) is obviously a later insertion.

Surely now the long suspense is over; the wished for rain will come. And it came. Elijah, the 'remembrancer' of his God (1 K. xvii. 18; Isa. lxii. 6), goes up to the top of Carmel. He knows that he can bring the rain; such prayer as his has the character of a charm. Already with the inward ear he has heard 'the sound of a rushing of rain,' and warned the king. He himself crouches down with his face between his knees (*v.* 42); the attitude may be a survival of the traditional practice of primitive rain-charmers. Again and again his unnamed servant goes to some eminence which commands a sea-view, but has to report that as yet the sky is clear (*v.* 43). The seventh time, however, he exclaims, with a wondering 'behold,' that a cloud arises out of the sea, no bigger than a man's hand, and Elijah sends a second warning to Ahab (*v.* 44). The little cloud is the herald of a storm—the first for three whole years. The most high God who has sent it has also touched Elijah with his Hand, so that, like a true *nābī*, he can run with incredible swiftness (cp. 1 K. xviii. 12; 2 K. ii. 16). Ahab might drive fast, but Elijah could run before him (*v.* 46).

So ends the wonderful story of the Great Repentance. Its true parallel is, not the compulsory reform of Josiah, but the Great Repentance produced by the preaching of the second Elijah—John the Baptist. The parallelism extends to chap. xix. (see next footnote). Chap. xix. presents us with another Elijah-story, which in some points agrees with the preceding story, in others, and these the most important, differs from it. In *vv.* 1-3 it is asserted that a report of Elijah's doings (on Carmel) had been given by Ahab to the queen, and especially of his slaughter of the prophets who were under her protection, that Jezebel in consequence sent a threatening message to Elijah, and that the prophet, fearing for his life, fled, not to the ravines of trans-Jordanic Gilead, as from the ordinary point of view we might have expected, but to Mount Horeb.¹ This, however, seems inconsistent with the main point of the preceding narrative, viz. that Elijah, by no means depressed by persecution, but

¹ Cp. Mark vi. 17-29. 'The whole narrative is based on the identification of the Baptist with Elijah' (B. W. Bacon). Herodias and Herod = Jezebel and Ahab.

overflowing with zeal and energy, gained a complete victory over Baalism and its votaries, Ahab not even venturing to open his mouth in the great contest. The only point, then, in which the two Elijah-stories undeniably and altogether coincide, is the persecution of the prophets of Yahweh by the Baalites.

The most reasonable inference is that the two narratives were originally independent, and it is not impossible that Gunkel may be right in supposing that a part of the original opening of the Horeb-narrative is still extant in the words, 'If thou art Elijah, I am Jezebel,'¹ which in **¶** precede the bold queen's deadly threat (xix. 2). Something more, of course, relative to the persecution, may have been inserted, which did not suit the redactor's purpose. And this 'something,' if it had been preserved, might have explained Elijah's deep depression and flight. At any rate, for whatever reason, Elijah was really afraid,² and at once started on his journey to his old home—N. Arabia.³ There, like other fugitives,⁴ he knew that he would be safe. His first halt he made at Beer-sheba, and since, probably, there were several places of that name,⁵ the redactor added, 'which belongs to Judah.' It is just possible, however, that, here as elsewhere, יהודה may be miswritten for 'ירח or ירחם. At any rate, it was at a Beer-sheba that he left his servant, and that he himself struck into wild pasture land on his way to the region called Yaman-Ashhur⁶ (v. 4). His next halting-place was, not under a broom-shrub, but under Ramath-Ashhur⁷ (vv. 4, 5). How the cold, hard queen would have

¹ Εἰ σὺ εἶ Ηλείου, καὶ ἐγὼ Ιεζαβελ.

² **¶**, καὶ ἐφοβήθη (וַיִּירָא). So all other versions except Tg.

³ אל-נפש is not 'on account of his life,' nor is אל-נפש, 2 K. vii. 7, 'on account of his life.' In both places (and sometimes probably in the Pss.) נפש comes from ישפן, *i.e.* ישפן, which (cp. אשפן) is a dialect-form of ישפן, *i.e.* ישמעאל. Cp. נפיש, an Ishmaelite name in Gen. xxv. 15, 1 Chr. v. 19; and נפסים or נפסים in Ezr. ii. 50, Neh. vii. 52. The suffixes in 1 K. xix. 3 and 2 K. vii. 7 are redactional. In both passages read probably אל-נפש.

⁴ Hadad and Jeroboam.

⁵ See on Am. viii. 14.

⁶ ים for ים, *i.e.* ים, as in Job iii. 8, cp. on Hos. xi. 10. אשח for אשח, as often.

⁷ רמח for רמח (cp. **¶**^A, Παμαθ).

rejoiced to see him! Her dearest wish was to be rid of him, and now, behold, her enemy confesses himself beaten, and wishes for nothing so much as to die,—‘it is enough; now, O Yahweh! take away my life, for I am not better than my fathers.’ Then he lay down and slept.¹ No friendly Arabians were on the way to help him; and yet he was not forgotten. A beneficent divine Being—called first Mal’ak (*v.* 5) and afterwards Mal’ak Yahweh (*v.* 7)—appeared, and provided for his most urgent needs. With a touch he wakened Elijah, and bade him arise and eat. ‘And he looked, and behold, at his head a cake baked on hot stones, and a jar of water. And he ate and drank, and lay down again.’ Again the same gentle touch (or is one of the narratives a doublet?) accompanied by the same command and by a statement of the reason. Elijah had simply been on the quest of a refuge from Jezebel, but the God who permitted this had another object. The prophet was to regain his supernormal strength in the place which was fullest of divinity, *i.e.* Mount Horeb. That was why he had to eat and drink, for otherwise the journey would be too long for them. Elijah, by his sympathy with his God, divined this.

And who is the God who thus overruled Elijah’s despondency to his own high purposes? He is not only the ancient god of the N. Arabian land—Yerahme’el (here and elsewhere disguised as Mal’ak), but Yerahme’el Yahweh (here given as Mal’ak Yahweh), *i.e.* a combination of the special god of Canaan and the special god of N. Arabia.² Yerahme’el precedes Yahweh, not as the more important of the two, but as, on this occasion, carrying out the purpose of the combined deities, for Yerahme’el (Mal’ak) has a specially friendly disposition towards human beings. It was Yerahme’el Yahweh who helped Hagar; it was he too who relieved Elijah.

This time there was no lingering on the part of the prophet. ‘He arose, and ate and drank, and went in the strength of that food to the mount of the Arabians’ (*v.* 8).

¹ Note the parallel clauses in *v.* 4 and 5. *ישכב וישן* is preferable to *ישב*, and *אחר* probably better than *אחת* (for *אשחרת*).

² See *T. and B.* pp. 58-60, 291-294.

How long the journey took him, assuming that he really made it, we know not. Wherever Horeb may have been, it cannot have taken Elijah 'forty days and forty nights' ('nights' is specially absurd) to get there. Shall we then omit the words, with Winckler?¹ There is no occasion, now that we have so often found that the words so rendered cover over names of N. Arabia. ארבעים ('forty') is but a disguise of ערבים, on which ימן (underlying יום) and ירחמאל (underlying לילה) are ancient glosses. הר ערבים ('the mount of the Arabians') is therefore a variant to הר האלהים, and we have a parallel for this in Ex. xxiv. 18,² where we should read ויהי משה בהר ערבים; the glosses are the same as here. In both passages Mount Horeb is meant. It should also be noted that the phrase הר [ה]אלהים is probably a corruption of הר ירחמאל.³ Originally, of course, Horeb was the sacred mountain of the N. Arabian god Yerahme'el.

And what did Elijah do when he reached Horeb? There was a cave in it known to the narrator, and long since designated by legend 'the cave' *par excellence*, i.e. the cave connected with the story of two great prophets, Moses⁴ and Elijah. There the prophet took up his lodging. And while he was there,⁵ as in the case of Moses, Yahweh 'passed by,' and a great wind arose, rending the mountains and the rocks. Then the solid earth itself quaked, and the subterranean fires flamed forth. All these were but the ministers and heralds of the great personal divine Being, who, though habitations and a name are His, is above nature and man, and turns both to His will. 'And after the fire, the sound of a low, soft whisper'⁶—the manifestation of the presence of a mysterious divine spirit (cp. Job iv. 15 f.). Then, like Moses in his shepherd-days (Ex. iii. 6), the awe-struck because human prophet hid his face, and went out to meet his Visitant. But the message was not to be given until the Servant had cleared his character. 'What doest thou here, Elijah?' is a summons to justify himself. The

¹ *Gesch. Isr.* i. 29 (note).

² *T. and B.* pp. 567.

³ *Ibid.* p. 69, 527.

⁴ See Ex. xxxiii. 22.

⁵ Omitting *vv.* 9 b–11 a as a doublet to *vv.* 13 b, 14.

⁶ That Yahweh was above wind and earthquake and fire is finely expressed in the triple parenthesis 'but Yahweh was not in the wind, the earthquake, the fire.'

prophet divines this, and throws out passionate words respecting his jealous working for Yahweh the God of Hosts,¹ but a pathetic tone supervenes as he recalls his solitariness and his precarious tenure of life. This is what Yahweh means to blame, but, with educational wisdom, instead of upbraiding Elijah for looking down instead of up, he calls him to immediate action (*v.* 15). The cause of Yahweh needs human agency. 'Go, return on thy way to the wilderness of Ramshaḵ.'² Ramshaḵ or Ramshaḥ was an important place and region near the border (probably) of the territory claimed by the Israelites. It was conquered by Rezon b. Eliada in the time of Solomon,³ and the city became the capital of the southern Aram.

On his arrival Elijah—so Yahweh commanded further—was to anoint a new king of Aram—Ḥaza'el by name. The ordinary view is that this is the Ḥaza'ilu of the Assyrian inscriptions. In fact Shalmaneser II. describes at length his campaign in 842 B.C. against this king,⁴ and appends a notice, 'At that time I received tribute from the Tyrians, the Sidonians, and Jaua of Bit-Ḥumri' (*i.e.* Jehu of Israel). The redactor, who read דמשק, evidently thought that this was the king referred to. But he may easily have made a confusion between two different kings. It is not necessary to suppose that both had the same name, only that each had a kingdom called Aram. It is remarkable that there is a group of names, the nucleus of which is חור,⁵ and which probably have N. Arabian affinities. The name of the opponent of Shalmaneser II. may itself be N. Arabian; many adventurers (like Omri and Yamani) sought their fortune in other lands. At any rate, it is extremely probable that Ḥaza'el was one of the names carried with them by the migratory Yerahme'elites.

How great, and at the same time how awful, Elijah

¹ We find the same title in Am. iii. 13, *v.* 14*f.*, vi. 8, 14, but as in our passage it is probably due to the redactor. The original tradition may have said, 'Yahweh Sib'i'th.' See on 1 K. xviii. 15.

² Not, as tradition, 'Damascus.'

³ 1 K. xi. 23-25; cp. *Crit. Bib.* pp. 338.

⁴ Gressmann, *Alt-or. Texte u. Bilder zum AT.* i. 112.

⁵ See *T. and B.* p. 333, and add reference to חור in Pognon's famous Zakir inscription.

must have been in the eyes of the faithful disciple who shaped this tradition! The cruelty of Hazael was notorious, yet Elijah chose him out as king. At the same time the disciple knew well that there were limits even to Hazael's power. Only within these limits would Yahweh sanction or permit his blood-stained course. Does not this remind us of Isa. x. 6 *f.*? But not less revengeful were Jehu and (with a purer fanaticism) Elisha. The dual personality of the latter is very striking, and for Elijah in the cave-entrance it was the terrible side which was the more prominent. All three alike were to him (*i.e.* to the narrator) chosen instruments of Yahweh's vengeance against Baal-worshippers—Hazael (2 K. viii. 12, x. 32) and Jehu (2 K. x. 11, 25) by the sword, and Elisha (as it seems) by curses or predictions (cp. 2 K. i. 10, 14, ii. 24).¹ Almost, but not quite, will Israel be destroyed. 'Yet will I leave seven thousand² in Israel,—all the knees which have not bowed to Baal, and every mouth which hath not kissed him' (1 K. xix. 18).

The 'anointing'³ of Hazael and Jehu must originally have followed next; the narrative, however, is omitted, because the redactor meant to insert another account inconsistent with that in the great Elijah-story. The anointing of Elisha, however, is duly related (xix. 19-21), unless indeed, with Winckler,⁴ we suppose that it is really Jehu (a Hebrew Cincinnatus) who is called to his high position from the plough. At any rate we know that Jehu was 'a son of Jehoshaphat, a son of Nimshi' (2 K. ix. 2; in 1 K. xix. 16 only 'a son of Nimshi'), and may infer (see p. 126) that Elisha and Jehu, and one may probably add Elijah, were from the same district of the Israelitish N. Arabian territory. It may well be that the vindictive spirit ascribed to these men by tradition is connected with their specially pure Yerahme'elite race.

¹ It is tempting to add Hos. vi. 5. But the text there needs correction.

² 2 K. x., however, presupposes that the Baal-worshippers in Israel were a small minority.

³ It is possible that the expression 'anoint' has here a peculiar meaning, viz. 'stir up to political revolt.' See Winckler, *KAT*⁽³⁾, p. 248.

⁴ *Krit. Schriften*, ii. 24; *KAT*⁽³⁾, p. 256; cp. Erbt, *Elia*, p. 64.

And here, so far as we know, the biography of Elijah, as given in the original tradition, closed, except that some account (not that in 2 K. ii. 1-18) must surely have been given of the great prophet's decease. There are still, however, two narratives besides that of the ascension or assumption, which must at least be referred to; they are concerned respectively with Ahab's sin against Naboth and with the death of his son Ahaziah. It is truly refreshing to meet with such a model Israelite as Naboth¹ (chap. xxi.), and interesting, in view of the exaggerations of chaps. xviii. and xix., to find the cult of Yahweh in full vigour. Ahab, in the Naboth-story, still plays a decidedly mean rôle beside his resolute consort Jezebel. *She*, evidently, is not afraid of the ubiquitous Elijah, but *he* is, and after hearing his sentence from the prophet, he exhibits all the outward and conventional signs of mourning. What is meant by the last word (אט) of xxi. 27, is not clear. The ancients varied between 'stooping,' 'with head bowed down,' and 'barefoot.' Elsewhere, however (see on Isa. viii. 6), אט has come from אַחַבֵּל (= אִשְׁמַעֵל); we may suppose therefore that Ahab, disgusted alike with himself and with the scene of his guilt, 'went to Ishmael,' *i.e.* to some N. Arabian sanctuary.

I spoke just now of Ahab's 'sentence.' This sentence is, of course, not to be found in the existing text. The original words of Elijah have been supplanted (in *vv.* 20 b-22) by a passage which, by its style, is evidently redactional. All that we now have is, 'And Ahab said to Elijah, Hast thou found me, O mine enemy? And he said, I have found thee!' As in xviii. 17, Elijah confronting Ahab, takes up in his own sense a striking phrase of his opponent. The development of 'I have found thee' is wanting.

The next Elijah-story, in order to be appreciated, must be read in a shortened form. The only genuine part is 2 K. i. 2-8, 17 *a*. Ahaziah, son and successor of Ahab, is sick, and sends messengers to ascertain by an oracle whether or not he will recover. And where is this oracle sought? In some sanctuary of Yahweh? No, but in that of Baal-zebub, *i.e.* not 'Baal of flies' (*i.e.* the Baal who sends or averts

¹ 'Naboth' (נבוט) is probably altered from 'Tuban' (חובן) = 'Tubal' (on which see *T. and B.* p. 161, and *cp.* p. 387 (n. 1)).

plagues of flies), but 'Baal of Zebub,' or rather 'of Zebul,' *i.e.* 'of Ishmael.'¹ It is therefore some sanctuary outside Israelitish territory that is meant, and a gloss states that the Baal referred to was the god of Ekron, *i.e.* that a specially famous sanctuary of this Baal existed in the Ethbalite, or N. Arabian, town of Ekron (1 S. v. 10). But Elijah, who was always on the spot when he was wanted, met the messengers of Ahaziah, and turned them back; in fact, the divine being called Mal'ak Yahweh (p. 81) had told him whom to look out for, and what to say. It was an insult to Yahweh to seek an oracle from any god but himself. Yerahme'el (= Ba'al) was no doubt a god, but the director of the Divine Company was, not Yerahme'el, but Yahweh. As a punishment Ahaziah should surely die. One of the supplementers, however, was not content that Elijah should have to retire so much behind his God. He considered that Elijah had a singular power (cp. 1 K. xix. 38) of drawing down fire from heaven, and inserted a passage awarding to this prophet the unhappy distinction of having caused the destruction of two captains of the royal body-guard, together with the N. Arabian warriors² under their command. A third captain and his men were only saved by the captain's humble deprecation to Elijah. How great and awful a prophet was Elijah! It was, however, a want of moral perception. An earlier narrator knew better. True greatness is not to destroy men's lives, but to save them by disclosing the ideal of immortality.³

Cry out, O waste, before him! O rocks of the wilderness, cry!

For tomorn shalt thou see the glory, and the man not made to die.⁴

The story of the Assumption shows a much better way of glorifying the prophet. As it is said of Enoch, so it

¹ Cp. אִימָוֶל = 'Arabia of Ishmael.' That יְבוּל came in after-times to be explained as 'dwelling' is not denied. See Bacon, on Mark iii. 22, but cp. *T. and B.* pp. 54, 144 (n. 2).

² On חֲמִשִּׁים see p. 303.

³ Compare the rebuke of Jesus (Luke ix. 55 f.).

⁴ W. Morris, *Sigurd*, book ii.

could be of Elijah, that 'God took him.' The Fire-god (the title may remain though the conception of godship has widened) sent his fire-chariot and his fire-horses to bring Elijah to his glittering palace. There is no need to rationalise. As the ideal prophet, Elijah was a God-man, and in a transformed luminous body went up like the heavenly ones. The aim of the story, however, is to glorify not only Elijah but Elisha; it belongs, in fact, to the Elisha-sagas. Beautifully does it picture the relations between master and scholar. How indeed could Elisha forget what Elijah had done for him? Had not Elijah charmed Elisha into his service¹—the privileged ministry of a disciple, whose duties, however humble, were so many sacramental signs of spiritual gifts? And after due probation had not Elijah initiated him as his spiritual son into the work of a prophet?² 'My father, my father,' cries Elisha, as the familiar form merges in radiance bright as fire, reminding us of works in an Arabic dirge, 'A father wert thou to me' (*bât abî anta*).³ A few other points seem to need mention:—

(1) The topographical presuppositions of the original story. These are probably N. Arabian. 'Gilgal' may be, as elsewhere, an error for 'Gilead' (the southern Gilead), 'Bethel' and 'Jericho' modifications of 'Ethbal' and 'Yarḥon' respectively (the latter involved inserting 'Jordan'). In fact, Elijah is on the whole a N. Arabian prophet; we cannot affirm this to the same extent of Elisha. In reading the narratives, we must always remember that they may have been much edited and have had several phases. That is one point of importance.

(2) Another is the magic virtue of Elijah's mantle of hair⁴ (2 K. i. 8; Zech. xiii. 4; Mt. iii. 4). There is an earlier instance of this in 1 K. xix. 19. The call to Elisha might not have been so effectual if Elijah had not cast his mantle

¹ The mantle was a charm (Gunkel). See further on (2).

² The parallel of a Hindu disciple's relation to his *guru* should not be overlooked (cp. *The Master as I saw him*, by Sister Nivedita). The above statement, however, is an inference from Elisha's treatment of Gehazi (2 K. iv. 29, 31).

³ Quoted from Kosegarten by Franz Delitzsch, *Job*, p. 432.

⁴ For the virtue inherent in the garment of a holy man cp. Mark vi. 56, and Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, bk. ii. chap. 44.

upon him. In our present narrative Elijah uses his mantle as a staff, and strikes the water (cp. Ex. xiv. 21), so that he and Elisha go over on dry ground (2 K. ii. 8, cp. 14).

(3) Elisha's request, as the spiritual son of Elijah, for a first-born son's portion of Elijah's spirit (imagined as a refined sort of matter), *v.* 9. Elijah grants this request on condition that Elisha can see him when he is being taken up. And, behold! when the fiery appearance of a chariot and horses received Elijah, Elisha knew it as what it really was—the chariot which bore the Deity when he went forth to fight for Israel (*v.* 12 *a*). Plainly Elisha must have received as a permanent gift the faculty of spiritual vision, which he, in turn, could by an 'effectual' prayer convey temporarily to another (2 K. vi. 17).

(4) A further point is the close relation in which Elisha stands to the guilds of prophets (cp. 1 S. xix. 20). This, however, seems to require a confirmation which, from the nature of the case, it cannot receive.¹

(5) The evidently designed parallelism between Elijah and Moses leads one to suspect that in the original Moses-story, Moses too was taken up into heaven. For 'none knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day' (Dt. xxxiv. 6). This completion of the story of Moses by the help of that of Elijah corresponds to the filling out of the story of Elijah from that of Moses (*i.e.* both Moses and Elijah were originally semi-divine heroic deliverers).

So Elisha becomes the successor of Elijah, but, I think, he does not take the same hold on us as his great predecessor, perhaps because he is after all the disciple and the successor. The narratives are, however, important, both for their own sakes and as supplementing the Elijah-cycles. They show that there was a traditional conception of the benevolence and beneficence of the perfect prophet and also of such a prophet's great political importance. It is noteworthy that tradition sometimes transfers achievements of Elijah to Elisha, an arbitrariness not unparalleled elsewhere. Still there is sometimes a striking originality in the Elisha-stories, *e.g.* in the story of Naaman (2 K. v.), nor can we say that the tale of the restoration of the dead child

¹ See Kittel's note on 2 K. ii. 3.

(2 K. iv.) has lost anything by being placed in a new setting. It is not necessary to go much into detail, precisely because Elisha is a successor, but our purpose does require that two or three points should be adverted to.

Thus (1) the close intercourse, in times of peace, between Israel and the peoples of N. Arabia may be illustrated by the application of Naaman for help in his distress to Elisha. This man was captain of the host of the king of Aram (*i.e.* the southern Aram), and we are told that through him Yahweh had given victory to Aram. Yahweh, then, was in some sense (see 3) the God of Aram as well as of Israel. In fact, Rimmon¹ (= Ra'aman) was equivalent to Yerahme'el, and Yahweh and Yerahme'el, or (as the Arammities of N. Arabia would have said) Yerahme'el and Yahweh belonged to the same Divine Company. No wonder, then, that Yahweh can be said by an Israelite writer to have been the cause of Aram's victories, and that a prophet of Yahweh can venture to anoint a king of Aram.

(2) To become 'clean' the Arammite is directed to go and bathe in Jordan seven times (2 K. v. 10). This was not the most usual way of regaining health in such a case; Naaman himself points the contrast. His chief complaint is that Elisha has treated him as a man of low rank, not coming out to see him, but sending his direction by a messenger. He is also highly offended that Jordan is the appointed stream in preference to any stream of Naaman's own country (which he calls Ramshak).² That rivers (as well as fountains) were regarded as sacred is well known. But specially sacred were those which had any connexion with the mythic tradition of the land. Probably this was the case with the Abana and the Parpar mentioned by Naaman. Both Eden³ (Gen. ii. 8) and Ramshak (p. 148) were in N. Arabia, and the third and fourth of Eden's streams are called in MT. Hiddekel and Perath.⁴ The former, Hiddekel, may be another name for Abana or Amana, and the latter, Perath, may be = Parpar. The streams of Paradise were 'rivers of life,' and though Paradise had

¹ *T. and B.* p. 33.

² See on 1 K. xix. 15; Am. iii. 12.

³ *T. and B.* pp. 85 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 91 f.

disappeared its four streams remained, and, if Elisha had pronounced a spell or prayer, would have displayed, for this occasion, their ancient power. Such may have been Naaman's belief.

(3) We have seen (see 1) that Yahweh was in some sense the God alike of Israel and of Aram (*v.* 1). This result has to be compared with the statements in *vv.* 15, 17-19. In *v.* 15 the Arammite officer, glowing with grateful enthusiasm, denies that there is any god in all the earth but in Israel. This may go beyond the narrator's statement in *v.* 1, but appears only to mean that there is no god with unlimited powers of action but Yahweh, for he has succeeded where Rimmon's priests or prophets had failed. This conviction Naaman in *v.* 17 expresses the wish to translate into act. The God whose prophet had done so wonderfully was Yahweh. Naaman is therefore willing as an individual to transfer his allegiance from Rimmon to the greater God Yahweh. There may, conceivably, have been a cult of Yahweh (Yahu) in the southern Aram, but this was not the true Yahweh, not the director of the divine Company, not the God of Elisha and of Israel. Naaman, therefore (*vv.* 17 *f.*), makes two requests: one for two mules' burden of Israelitish earth¹ to build an altar for private worship therewith, and another to be excused for his payment of official visits in the king's retinue to the temple of Rimmon. This was fine casuistry, no doubt, but probably called for by circumstances not known to us in the narrator's time.

Next, as to the story of the Shunammiteess (2 K. iv.). (1) The woman, in her great trouble, at once thinks of seeking help from Elisha. 'Holy man of God' as he is (*v.* 9), she is well aware that his indwelling power is always at the service of the suffering. The most natural days for a visit to the 'man of God' were the new moon and the sabbath,² these being holidays, but dire necessity knows no conventions. The poor 'great woman' feels that she has a claim on

¹ Cp. Gen. iv. 14; 2 S. xxvi. 19.

² Meinhold (1905) thinks that in pre-exilic times *shabbath* meant 'full-moon day.' I have myself suggested that *yôm shabbâth* meant originally 'the day of Ashtart' (*T. and B.* p. 69).

Elisha (see *v.* 13), which the prophet will recognise. Truly a vivid picture of the relations between the perfect prophet and the people! (2) Not only special attitudes and special forms of words, but certain holy objects, such as a staff, were required by a trained charmer. Elisha, like Moses (*Ex.* iv. 1-9, etc.), was a charmer, and had a staff,¹ which staff was to be laid by his minister Gehazi on the face of the dead child. The object, of course, was to re-establish the connexion between the Lord of life and the young child whose soul was going down to the underworld; and the implication is that Yahweh had infused into the staff some of his life-giving 'spirit.'² The prophet's minister did as he was commanded. He 'laid the staff upon the face of the child,' but—we are told—'there was neither sound nor attention (response).' Evidently the narrator did not himself think much of the plan of reviving the dead child by laying a holy object upon his face. He did not, however, dream of denying that the dead could be raised. An Elisha, who was more than an ordinary prophet—surely he could perform this great act. So Elisha, who arrived later, prayed (as great prophets knew how to pray) to Yahweh, and then laid himself upon the child (*v.* 34). Had he learned this from his own master? It is not unlikely (see 1 K. xvii. 21).

And now we may invite the oft-tested help of cuneiform research. There is clearly magic in Elisha's procedure. What, then, were the rules of magic in such a case in Babylonia? A Jewish Assyriologist (*cp.* pp. 93, 108) may again be appealed to. 'Laying certain important parts of the body on the corresponding parts of the body of another being had the effect of working a thorough transformation in that other, in fact, of making the two beings one. Thus, in spells, the demons are forbidden to lay head, hand, and foot on head, hand, and foot of a human being, and elsewhere the god is said to place his mouth on

¹ *T. and B.* p. 532.

² 2 K. ii. 14, 'Where is Yahweh, Elijah's God?' The materialistic conception of 'spirit' cannot be denied. *Cp.* the Melanesian *mana*, a divine substance which pervades all things, but manifests itself in certain holy objects or persons.

the mouth of the enchanter to unite the enchanter to his god.¹

Here we turn from the prophets of action and of physical miracle to those mightier in word than in deed, stronger in suffering themselves than in imposing God's will on others. Their one great miracle was the revelation of the all-powerful divine forces in history, to which prophets of a narrow horizon (p. 46) were blind. They were content with a smaller sphere than their predecessors, and declared the will and purpose of Yahweh in public addresses, which were afterwards noted down by zealous disciples for the coming generation. The earliest of those whose ministry is recorded for us is Amos, who cannot, however, have been first in the order of succession. Not only does he exhibit too advanced a religious development for this, but his command of traditional literary processes is too considerable. He is, in fact, a combination of poet, orator, and saint (*i.e.* one who consciously has the divine spirit dwelling within him), whereas Elijah and Elisha, as popular tradition declared, were saints, reformers, and revolutionists. There must surely have been something to break the startling transition. Had some wise man, some inspired poet, who, partly by the accident of his birth, had begun as a diviner, been caught by the deity, and transformed into a *nābī*, or spokesman of Yahweh? That is a rational conjecture, suggested by the story of Balaam (p. 107). Such an one would naturally form a school. Whether Amos was trained in the literary and poetic art we know not. All that we can affirm is that he represents a new combination of divine gifts, suitable to the age in which he lived, and that though free from the violence of Elijah and Elisha he was not less brave, not less absorbed in God.

¹ S. Daiches, in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, November 1908, col. 492 f.

5. AMOS SECTION

We now come to a second and more historical Elijah; 'as one that findeth great spoil,' I rejoice and am glad. The curiosity of later times led to the expansion of an earlier and simpler title. It was easy to guess that Uziah and Jeroboam were the kings of Judah and Israel respectively when Amos prophesied, and for an ingenious scribe it was (according to some) not an unnatural conjecture¹ that the prophet received his revelations shortly before the earthquake, which is apparently predicted in viii. 8, ix. 5. And of course the reference to the herdsmen among whom Amos was might be suggested by vii. 14 *f*. Moreover, the Old Latin version presupposes as the text of **אשר**, not what we commonly read as such, but simply 'the words of Amos which he saw concerning Jerusalem.'² A keener criticism, however, seems desirable.

Let us begin by investigating the text. The first difficulty is **אשר היה** ('who was'),³ which refers to Amos as a personage belonging to past history (cp. Eccles. i. 12), and therefore cannot be the work of a contemporary. The next is **מתקוט**; to say, 'The words of Amos (who was among the herdsmen), of Tekoa,' is surely impossible. Either **אשר היה** is a fragment of another heading, viz. 'The word of Yahweh which came to Amos,' or (better) the words have arisen out of a prematurely written **אשר חזה**, and should be disregarded.⁴ But what of **בנקדים**? Is it enough to say that this word together with **אשר היה** should be omitted as due to a late scribe, who remembered vii. 14 *f*.?⁵ Evidently not. **בנקדים** and **מתקוט** must go together, and since, if taken together, they make no sense, we may safely assume that there is textual corruption. The text before

¹ See Hoffmann, *ZATW*, 1883, p. 123; Cheyne, *E. Bib.*, 'Amos,' § 4.

² Oesterley, *Studies in the Greek and Latin Versions of the Book of Amos* (Cambridge, 1902).

³ Harper's rendering 'who had been' is not natural.

⁴ That the original heading contained two relative clauses, **אשר היה** and **אשר חזה**, is most improbable.

⁵ The reading in vii. 14 is **בוקר**. See further on.

us is דברי עמון בנקדים מתקוע. What sort of meaning should בנקדים have? G^b has $\epsilon\nu \alpha\kappa\kappa\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota\mu$. This is clearly wrong, except in so far as it sanctions a search for a regional name. Of course a regional name has to afford a good sense, but if we analyse בנקד[י]ם into בן קדם we shall get one, for קדם is an abundantly attested corruption of רקם, *i.e.* ירחמאל.¹ We can now understand בוקר in vii. 14; treated by the same method, it comes from קרם, *i.e.* בן רקם (see on vii. 14). Thus the original text of *v. 1 a* becomes, 'The words of Amos, a native of Reḳem, of Tekoa.' The Tekoa intended will not be 'the most easterly township of Judah' known to us under this name, but one situated in that part of the N. Arabian border-land which appears to have been possessed by Israel.

We have already had occasion to refer to vii. 14, 15—that famous passage in which Amos is introduced justifying his position before the priest Amazoah. The passage is as difficult as the corresponding part of the heading; indeed, being longer, it presents even more points of difficulty. It is supposed to tell us (in the words of Amos himself) that Amos was a tender of cattle and a pincher of sycamore fruit, and that the prophetic impulse seized him when he was 'behind the sheep.' We shall find reason, however, to doubt the correctness of the text, and just as בוקר comes from רקם, *i.e.* a Raḳmite or Yerahme'elite, so we shall see that בולם comes from סלם, *i.e.* a Salmite or Ishmaelite, also that it was not 'from behind the sheep' (מאחורי הצאן) that Amos was 'brought,' but from the (non-Israelite) region called Ashḥur-Šib'on. These points will be referred to in the place assigned to the narrative which suggests them by the redactor. It seemed necessary, however, to refer here to the results which will be obtained later, both to throw fresh light on the heading, and to correct a false idea which would otherwise, from the first, hinder our due appreciation of the prophet, *viz.* that Amos was in some sense (*cp.* Jerome) a rustic prophet. What his position in society was, we know not, but we have no sufficient ground to call him a tender of naḳad-sheep and a cultivator

¹ *T. and B.* pp. 179, 200, 312, 372, etc.; *D. and F.* pp. xxxiii, 37, 126.

of the miserable figs of the sycomore. He was, at any rate, possessed of a well-stored mind and a high culture, according to the ideas of his people.¹

But to return to the heading. It is possible that in its original form it ran simply thus—'The words of Amos, of Tekoa.' Probably, however, there were several Tekoas (see on Jer. vi. 1), and hence a later redactor (remembering vii. 14) put in the explanation 'a Raḥmite,' *i.e.* 'a Yerah-me'elite'; he may also have inserted 'which he saw concerning Israel' (cp. on vii. 15), and the words respecting the earthquake. This reference, however, has given some trouble to critics. It may, indeed, be possible to account for it on exegetical but wholly uncritical grounds, characteristic of the Sopherim. But this, as it seems to me, is only the resource of despair, and I think that critics would have done better to search diligently for an older underlying text. It would certainly be most satisfactory to get rid of the earthquake altogether, for we have no historical evidence (Zech. xiv. 5 is not such ²) for any uniquely destructive earthquake such as might serve to mark an epoch. Indeed, it is not any natural phenomenon, but some event in the national history, that we expect to be referred to.

Well, let us venture to look for such, and let us assume a transposition of letters such as frequently makes the true text almost unrecognisable. רעש, for instance, like ראש (vi. 7; Ezek. xxxviii. 2), is very liable to be miswritten for אש, and in the same way הרעש may have come from אשחר (see note 2), and שנתים have developed out of הַנֶּתֶשׁ, so that, transposing לפני, we obtain the sense, 'before Asshur was rooted out.' The allusion will be to some achievement of the Israelites in the border-region, sometimes called Asshur or Ashḥur, which was so long in dispute between them and the (southern) Arammmites; such a feat as is referred to in the original text of vi. 1 (cp. v. 7), to which we shall have to return. The redactor, then, lived early enough to have before him a correct text of vi. 1, 7. The dating by reigns

¹ *E. Bib.*, 'Amos,' § 16.

² The passage referring (apparently) to the earthquake is a very late gloss, and really perhaps refers to a flight before Ashḥurite invaders (for אשחר read אשחר).

may have been introduced later. Two distinct chronological notes side by side can hardly have been inserted by the same hand.

Amos, then, was by birth a Yerahme'elite (vii. 14, i. 1), and we shall soon see that his interest is mainly absorbed in the fate of the Israelites settled in the N. Arabian borderland. It is therefore most improbable that he should have begun the written records of his prophecies with the words, 'Yahweh shall roar from Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem,'¹ and since the Book of the Twelve Prophets comes to us from the post-exilic age, it is much less likely that the passage is derived from ancient hymns to Yahweh² than that i. 2 *a* was borrowed by the redactor from Joel iv. 16 *a*, and v. 2 *b* at any rate inspired by Joel and other later religious writers. In fact, no poet of any genius, whether before or after Amos, would have produced a distich the two parts of which are so inconsistent as v. 2 *a* and v. 2 *b*. The first part of the verse is minatory, the second elegiac, nor is it easy to see how a thunderstorm can produce the effects described in v. 2 *b*. For further details see *E. Bib.*, 'Amos,' § 8.³

We now pass on to the Dooms of the Peoples. According to the traditional view, a divine oracle is directed in turn against Damascus, Gaza, Tyre, Edom, Ammon, Moab, Judah, Israel. If this is right, Amos's width of outlook is most remarkable. No human instrument of Yahweh's vengeance is mentioned; in the old myth, by which Amos is to some extent influenced, it was evidently Yahweh who worked judgment by extraordinary natural phenomena. I doubt whether it is worth while to diminish the amount of the influence of the myth by rendering the recurrent phrase, לֹא אֲשִׁירָנּוּ, 'I will not turn him (Asshur) back,'⁴

¹ Prof. Paul Haupt, with characteristic boldness, alters 'Zion' into 'Seir,' and 'Jerusalem' into 'Edom,' and places the passage at the head of the poem, iii. 3 *f*. Am. iii. 1, 2, he calls a theological gloss. On chaps. i. and ii., see *OLZ*, xii. (1909), col. 213, *Transactions of Oxford Congress*, i. 269.

² Gressmann, *Eschat.* p. 23.
³ Cp. *Introd.* to W. R. Smith's *Prophets*, p. xvi.; Volz, *Yahwe-prophezie*, pp. 19 *f*.

⁴ So H. W. Hogg, *Transactions of Congress for Study of Religions* (Oxford, 1908), i. 325-27. This is at any rate easier than Haupt's 'I will assuredly punish him.'

comparing 2 K. xix. 7, 28. And I doubt still more whether Amos's prophetic gaze is quite what has been commonly supposed, *i.e.* whether the names of the peoples addressed in i. 3–ii. 16 are all rightly understood, and whether the dooms were all uttered by Amos. The first doom (i. 3–5) is indeed doubtless the work of Amos, but whether it was originally directed against Damascus¹ is less certain. From a number of O.T. passages critically treated it is probable that there was a דמשק or רמשק in the south² which belonged sometimes to Israel, sometimes to the southern Aram, and the latter form is perhaps the more correct, unless indeed we suppose that both forms were current in the south, a not very probable conjecture. Damshak (the supposed predecessor of Dammešek) would represent Edom³-Ashhur, and Ramshak or Ramshah (see on iii. 12, vi. 7) would mean Aram-Ashhur. The view here preferred involves holding that Hazael and Bar-Hadad⁴ (so to be read), were current as royal names in the southern as well as in the northern Aram. But why should we not hold this? Names were carried northward and north-eastward by the migrating Yerahme'elites. There was probably a southern as well as an eastern Gilead.⁵ May we not, then, plausibly assume, that Hazael and Bar-Hadad, which are admittedly the names of N. Arammite rulers,⁶ were also, by a prior right, the names of S. Arammite kings or chieftains, and that their capital was called Damshak or (better) Ramshak?

The charge which Amos in the name of Yahweh brings against Aram appears on the surface to be that of monstrous inhumanity towards the conquered Gileadites. Some, however, seek to mitigate it by interpreting the description figuratively, and certain it is that Tiglath-pileser boasts of

¹ Dammešek.

² See *T. and B.* pp. 249, 261 (n. 2); *D. and F.* pp. 40, 52, 91, 162 (n. 1).

³ Paul Haupt has already equated Adam and Edom.

⁴ 'Ben-Hadad' is due to a misinterpretation of 'Bar-Hadad,' which really comes from 'Arab-Hadad' (Hadadite Arabia). For parallels see *T. and B.* p. 109 (n. 2).

⁵ *T. and B.* pp. 179, 385.

⁶ See Pognon's Zakir inscription, and for Ass. forms, Schrader, *KAT*⁽²⁾, p. 148.

having 'threshed' the land Bit-Amukkani, but adds, 'all its people and its possessions I brought to Assyria.'¹ It is quite possible, however, that the redactor interpreted the description literally, just as the redactors doubtless understood literally the atrocities mentioned in *v.* 13 *b*; 2 S. viii. 2, xii. 31; 2 K. viii. 12 (end), Hos. x. 14 *b*, xiv. 1 *b*; Isa. xiii. 16; Ps. cxxxvii. 9. But is the text of these passages and of our present passage correct? I have discussed this already elsewhere, and if the reader will but take the trouble to consider the suggestions offered from the new point of view, he will, I think, admit that the traditional text can be very greatly improved. The Hosea-passage will be re-studied here in due course, as also Am. i. 13 *b*, and this renewed study cannot fail to illustrate parallel passages.

Two Roman Catholic scholars² deserve credit for questioning the awkward *אֶת-הַגִּלְעָד*. Their proposal is to read *אֶת-הָרִי הַגִּלְעָד* (cp. Isa. xli. 15), which reminds us of the reading presupposed by *אֶת-הָרִי הַגִּלְעָד*. It is better, however, to scrutinise the whole stichus. Let us begin with *בַּחֲרֹצֹת הַבְּרוּז*. In Dt. iv. 20, as usually interpreted, a severe oppression is compared to 'a furnace of iron,' and this in turn is usually explained 'a furnace as hot as one for smelting iron.' Really, however, as I have sought to show, [*hab*]*barsel* is parallel to *Miṣrim*, and *בְּרוּז* is a corrupt form of one of a large group of similar compound regional names; its original form must have been *רַבְשָׁל*,³ where *רב* represents *עָרַב*, and *שָׁל* (see on 'Maher-shalal,' Isa. viii. 1, 3) *יִשְׁמַעְאֵל*. Similarly here, *בְּרוּז* may mean 'Ishmaelite Arabia,' and be parallel to *גִּלְעָד* 'Gilead' (the southern Gilead). This, of course, will depend on our being able to correct *בַּחֲרֹצֹת* and *אֶת* consistently with this view. And, happily, this we can do. The former seems to come from *מַבְצֹרֹת* (cp. 2 K. viii. 12); the latter may have been written shortly for *אֶרְמְנוֹת*. The only word that remains is *דְּרֹשֶׁם*, for which it is natural to propose *שְׂדֵדֹם*. I have spoken tentatively, because my proposals will only become in the highest degree probable if the other passages referred

¹ *KB*, ii. 4 *f.*, quoted by Harper.


² Zenner and Condamin in Harper.

³ *T. and B.* p. 109, with n. 2; *D. and F.* pp. 141, 144, 182.

to can be similarly corrected, and if the sense is improved by the process. I for my part do not doubt that these conditions have been fulfilled. The sense produced for the present passage (i. 3 *b*), is—

Because they took by storm the fortresses of Ishmael-
Arabia,
The castles of Gilead.

It is, of course, the southern Gilead (not, as in *v.* 13, the eastern) that is here meant, and, equally of course, sad barbarities were practised at the storming of cities (see on Hos. x. 14), at which a prophet of the God of loving-kindness would naturally be shocked.

And the punishment of this offence? That is described in *vv.* 4, 5. In *v.* 4 (coloured by the old myth), it is destruction by divine fire¹ (volcanic?); in *v.* 5, captivity of Aram's people in Kir. The general ruin will be specially felt in three localities: first, Biḳ'ath-On; second, Beth-'Eden; third,² Ramshaḳ. On (so , rightly) is thought to be the Syrian Heliopolis; but how do we know that this place was called On? If it was, the name (like others) may be best accounted for as brought from N. Arabia. Indeed, such evidence as the O.T. supplies converges to show that On, Onam, Onan are characteristically N. Arabian names.³ Considering this, and also Amos's Yerahme'elite origin, it is probable that Biḳ'ath-On is a southern name.

Next, as to the problem of Beth-eden. It is natural to think of identifying this with a place often mentioned in the Ass. inscriptions, and called Bît-Adini; this is a district on the Euphrates, N.N.E. of Damascus.⁴ But we must first consider the possibility of a N. Arabian connexion. The case is the same as that of the benê Eden of 2 K. xix. 12 (= Isa. xxxviii. 12). There are plausible grounds for regarding this, as well as Ezekiel's Eden (Ezek. xxxi. 9, 16, 18), and indeed the *gan eden* of Gen. ii. itself, as N. Arabian.⁵ And let us remember that Amos was a *ben reḳem*.

¹ בית means, not 'palace' (Šanda, *Die Aramäer*, p. 24), but 'territory.'

² For the transposition see Marti.

³ *T. and B.* pp. 420, 471.

⁴ But see *E. Bib.*, 'Beth-eden.'

⁵ See *T. and B.* p. 88.

Last of all the blow falls on the capital (*v.* 5), and then the best part of the 'people of Aram' is deported. The name Aram doubtless came from Arabia, where admittedly the N. Arammmites had their 'original home.'¹ It has not, however, been noticed that, just as Shem is the short for Ishma or Ishmael, Hur and Hash for Ashhur, and Sheth for Ashtar,² so Ram or Aram represents Yarham or Yerah-me'el. Nor, in my opinion, has the right explanation been given of ix. 7, where Aram is said to have been brought by Yahweh from Kir. This name has been looked for in the wrong quarter. It is not anywhere in the far east, but in N. Arabia. The name, best read as קרר, comes from Ashhur, the name of a wide region in N. Arabia. That the Arammmites should have been deported to their old home has been thought strange, but since their migration from Kir (Ashhur), to another part of N. Arabia, there was time for change both in them and in the population of Kir. It is true that, in Isa. xxii. 6, Kir is parallel to Elam. But there was a N. Arabian Elam (= Ishmael), which is mentioned in the list of the post-exilic Jewish community (Ezra ii. 31; Neh. vii. 34) as 'the other Elam' (עֵלָם אֲחֵר), or rather 'the Ashhurite Elam' (ע' אֲשֻׁרִי).³ Whether קירה in 2 K. xvi. 9 is a later insertion from our passage⁴ seems to me doubtful.

At this point it may be well to refer to the consequences of these textual results. There are certain passages in 2 Kings which have naturally been referred to in illustration of Am. i. 3-5; these are viii. 12, x. 32 f., xiii. 3, 7, xiv. 25 f. (a) In viii. 12 we have, from the hagiography of Elisha, that prophet's anticipations of the evil that Hazael would do to the benê Israel. We have already seen, however, that both Elijah and Elisha were prophets of the N. Arabian borderland, and that the narratives of their careers are most intelligible if the Arammmite kings with whom they had to do were N. Arabian rulers. (b) (c) and (d) certainly appear to refer to the N. Arammmites. The only conclusion open to us is that the writings of prophetic origin or affinities

¹ Šanda, *Die Aramäer*, p. 4.

² See *D. and F.* pp. xxxiv. f.

³ *T. and B.* pp. 177 f.

⁴ Wellhausen and Marti. Ⲅ does not translate קירה; Lucian gives τῆν πόλιν.

refer exclusively to the southern Arammities, and the extracts from ordinary historical works to the northern. See further on iii. 12, iv. 10, vi. 1-7.

To return to the prophetic Dooms. Next in order comes that on the 'Philistian' cities (except Gath), i. 6-8. Who the Philistines of the O.T. were, I have, with some independent support from Hommel, shown elsewhere.¹ They were not, as it is fashionable to hold, Semitized Cretans, but one of the many peoples into which the ancient Yerahme'elite or Ishmaelite race broke up. The unoriginal style of the Doom and the omission of Gath (which seems to imply a date subsequent to 711 B.C.), are unfavourable to Amos's authorship. Next, as to the offence of the 'Philistines' or Ethbalites.² This appears to consist in their having carried away captive גליות שלמה,³ i.e. גלעד שלמה (Gilead of Šalmah) or ג' ישמעאל (Gilead of Ishmael), to deliver them up to Edom. As a punishment they are threatened with destruction to the very last remnant. As Marti remarks, such a destruction was the conventional prelude of the felicity of the latter days (Isa. xi. 14; Zeph. ii. 4-7; Zech. ix. 5-7).

It is also noteworthy that both this and the following Doom are closely parallel to Joel iv. 4-6, where the regions of Pelesheth, or rather Ethbal (= Ishmael), are threatened because they have presumed to plunder Yahweh's land, and to sell Jewish captives to the Yavanites. Yavan and Yaman are identical;⁴ some comparatively distant N. Arabian population is certainly indicated. We may assume that the Edomites of Am. i. 6, 9, like the Yavanites, are slave-merchants.

The next Doom (vv. 9, 10), which is clearly not Amosian, is usually supposed to refer to Tyre. But how unlikely (1) that Tyre should be placed between Ashdod, etc. and Edom, and (2) that the Tyrians would make slave-hunting raids on

¹ *D. and F.* pp. xxi.-xxiii. 19.

² פלח, like חבל and חפל (Dt. i. 1), is a corruption of אהבל = אהבאל.

³ גליות, like גלח in Judg. i. 15, Josh. xv. 19, and גלית in 1 S. xvii. 4, may be a (very old) corruption of גלעד. Cp. on Jer. xiii. 19, where a similar correction is required. I do not see how this can be questioned.

⁴ *T. and B.* p. 161; *D. and F.* pp. xxxv. f.

Israelite territory! From these peculiarities one is led to doubt whether Šōr really means Tyre. Is not Šōr really a popular abbreviation of Miššōr, which is the N. Arabian Mišri?¹ The name might indeed be used for the famous Tyre, but here at any rate and in Joel iv. 4-6 (referred to above) it does not mean Tyre. It may be asked why this N. Arabian place or district is accused of not remembering 'the covenant of brothers'? The allusion is to the relationship of Jacob and Esau (= Edom), but if so, the clause ought obviously to have come into the Doom of Edom. Probably it is a misplaced gloss on v. 11,² designed to remind the reader of Num. xx. 14; Dt. xxiii. 7 (see next paragraph).

One is sorry to have to pronounce the same verdict of unauthenticity on the Doom of Edom (i. 11, 12). Not only is the number of lines incomplete, but, as a matter of history, the animosity here imputed to Edom is distinctly an exilic and post-exilic characteristic. But if the Doom is unauthentic, how do we account for the forcible but obscure expression שחת רחמי? Robertson Smith's rendering,³ 'he burst the bonds of kinship,' is learnedly and ingeniously supported, but has no exact parallel. The parallel quoted (Mal. ii. 8) is not perfectly illustrative; ברית can go with שחת more easily than רחמי. Now, it so happens that in a gloss (v. 9, end), relating apparently to our passage, ברית אחים takes the place of רחמי, while לא זכרו expresses more temperately the same idea as שחת. Is it not probable that רחמי arose in a late form of the text out of fragments of ברית and אחים? This produces, 'he annulled the covenant of brothers,' i.e. by his unfraternal conduct (cp. Obad. 10, 12) he destroyed the mutual obligations formerly recognised between the two peoples.

The Doom of the Ammonites (i. 13-15) is undoubtedly Amosian. The single charge brought against them agrees with one of those brought prophetically against Hazael by Elisha in 2 K. viii. 12, viz. that their warriors ripped up pregnant women. The women were the wives of Israelites

¹ See *T. and B.* pp. 172, 193 f.; *Crit. Bib.* on Joel; Winckler, *KAT*⁽³⁾, i. 147.

² The idea is Marti's, but in its full development is my own.

³ *Kinship and Marriage*⁽²⁾, p. 32.

of Gilead, and the object of the Ammonites was 'to enlarge their territory.' The traditional text of both passages, however, is not free from grave suspicion. No doubt such an atrocity is historically conceivable; Wellhausen gives good Arabic parallels. But how can such atrocities have furthered the end which the Ammonites had in view? Surely the only way to enlarge their territory was to capture the Gileadite fortresses. Hence, for הָרֹת, Valeton would read בְּצֻרֹת. But how can this word mean 'fortresses,' and is it near enough to הָרֹת? I would therefore read קְרִיֹת, and render, 'because they took by force the cities of Gilead.' It is here the eastern Gilead that is meant; the existence of two Gileads is abundantly attested. The offence of the Ammonites was the attempt to wrest the trans-Jordanic Gilead from Israel, with all the barbarities which the storming of cities involved. This new view of the text affects the reading of 2 K. viii. 12, xv. 16; Hos. xiv. 1 (see note). Verse 3 is parallel to the restored text of our passage.

The Doom of Moab (ii. 1-3) follows; the special transgression, according to the text, is having burned the bones of the king of Edom to lime. For such an offence there is no parallel, and various attempts have been made to correct the text. It has not, however, been noticed that the key of the passage lies in שִׁיר, and that in Dt. xxvii. 2 בְּשִׁיר is certainly a corruption of בְּשֹׁר, 'in Shur,' *i.e.* in Asshur.¹ Here, however, Shur or Asshur is not, as usually, a regional but a divine name,² and equivalent to Ashtar, the leading member of the divine duad of the Moabites.³ If we then correct עֲצֻמֹת into עַמְצִידֹת, we shall get the sense, 'because he burned Amaṣiahu, king of Edom,⁴ to Asshur.' It was not, therefore, mere 'wanton meanness' (G. A. Smith), nor

¹ See Gen. xxv. 18, and cp. *T. and B.* p. 355; *D. and F.* p. 154 (שִׁיר on).

² *T. and B.* p. 23; *D. and F.* p. 167.

³ We know from the inscription of Mesha that the national god of Moab was the compound deity, Ashtar-Kemosh. Elsewhere in the inscription Kemosh is mentioned, and Num. xxi. 29 and other passages only mention this god.

⁴ Possibly for אָרֹם we should read אִרְם; the confusion may often have taken place. See *T. and B.* p. 429.

even merely the sacrilegious violation of a tomb, of which the king of Moab is here accused, but of a horrid human sacrifice by fire, such as the god Asshur accepted, but the Yahweh of the prophets abhorred. The name Amaṣiahu for a king of Edom is not indeed attested, but it is possible, and the sense produced is worthy of the context. Beyond this we cannot go.

In the description of the punishment there is one passage which seems highly suspicious. The words are **ומת בשאון** **מואב**, 'and Moab shall die with a crash.' The phraseology is unnatural. First, as to **שאון**. It is singular that the same word occurs in connexion with Moab in Jer. xlviii. 45, where, however, it ought to be an ethnic or regional name, corresponding to **שת** in the parallel passage, Num. xxiv. 17. But an ethnic or regional name *shā'ōn* does not exist; some other name must underlie it. We must, therefore, suppose that **שאון** here, as in Hos. x. 14, and like **נשוא** in Isa. iii. 3 and **אנוש** in Gen. iv. 26; Isa. viii. 1, has come from **שמאון**, or some similar corruption of **ישמעאל**, somewhat as **שת** in Num. l.c. and Gen. iv. 25 comes from **אשתר**. Next, as to **ומת**. Something surely must underlie this most improbable word. As it seems to me, the original must have been either **ארמנות** or, better, **מבצרות**; the latter word we have already restored in v. 3 *b* as the parallel to the former. 'The fortresses in Ishmael-Moab' will be a gloss on **ק' ארמנות**.

There is still one other word which needs a keener treatment than it has yet received. It is true, the inscription of Mesha (line 13) brings Keriyyoth before us as an important city, with a sanctuary of Kemosh. If, however, **בשאון מואב** represents **ב'ישמעאל מ'**, the name Keriyyoth ought to belong to a district as well as a city. And so probably it did. I have already expressed the view¹ that the original of **קרית** (1 K. xvii. 5) and **קרית** in **ק' ארבע** (Gen. xxiii. 2) is **אשחורת**, the fem. form of **אשחור** (**אשחור**), or **אשחורת** and the original of **קריית** (**קרית**) is very probably the same, just as Kir-Moab probably comes from Ashhur-Moab. I trust that the reader will not be annoyed with these minutiae. It is on the abundance of such minutiae that a nearer approximation to the true meaning of the prophets largely depends. The result of

¹ See Elijah Section, and *T. and B.* pp. 335, 337.

all this will best be seen by a rendering of *v.* 2 ; after בחרוּעָה something has fallen out (cp. i. 14).

And I will send fire on Moab,
 And it shall drown the castles of Ashhoreth,
 With war-cry * * *
 And with the sound of the trumpet.

Gloss on line 2, the fortresses in Ishmael-Moab.¹

Verse 3 (in which notice the term שׁוֹרֶפֶט for 'regent') closes the Dooms on the neighbouring peoples. These Dooms, as has well been remarked,² give a vivid picture of the Semitic world. It is also to be noticed that Amos presupposes that the same moral standard is theoretically recognised in Aram, Ethbal, Ammon, and Moab as in Israel. We now turn to the Doom of Israel (ii. 6-16), the effect of which is greatly heightened by the omission of the two tame, colourless verses on Judah which precede, and which appear to come from the Deuteronomic school of writers. The stereotyped form of Doom is soon abandoned, and (if the text is correct) the prophet passes on to a catalogue of Yahweh's benefits to Israel, with which the sins already described so painfully contrast. Then comes the dire punishment, which is not, however, expressed in the typical form adhered to elsewhere. First, as to the details of Israel's offences. That they are more abundant than those in the previous Dooms is not surprising. Amos is here at home, and speaks of what he has only too frequently observed. Unfortunately they are not easy to explain ; indeed, without superadding new methods to old, it would be impossible to satisfy the student's legitimate requirements. First comes, 'because they sell the righteous for money, and the needy because of a pair of sandals.' This is obscure. Does it all relate to the corruptibility of the judges, or is there a zeugma in the use of the word 'sell,' so that it is used figuratively with reference to the venal judges in the first clause, and literally with reference to the hard-hearted creditor in the second ? And similarly, is בעָבֹר in the second clause parallel to בָּ in the first, or not ? נַעֲלִים,

¹ Moab, then, formed part of the wide region called Ishmael or Yerahme'el.

² By Prof. G. A. Smith.

too, is most difficult.¹ It is not that explanations are wanting; on the contrary, almost every year brings some new one. But the most lavish use of ingenuity and Semitic lore will not justify this improbable text. It is true that נעלים has the support of 𐤍 in 1 S. xii. 3.² But how often the text of 𐤍 is demonstrably wrong! And so, surely, it is in this passage. It is as impossible for כפר and נעלים (or נעל) to be parallel in 1 S. as for כסף and נעלים in Amos. Surely נעלים must be corrupt. Just as נעל in Gen. xiv. 23³ most probably comes either from ירחמאל or from ישמעאל, i.e. these well-known ethnics are sometimes worn down into נעל, מאל, מעל, or the like, so נעלים in 1 S. (𐤍) and Amos probably represents ישמעאלים or ירחמאלים. בעבור can then be easily explained as coming from בערב. כסף ought also by the law of parallelism to represent some regional name. Now it has been pointed out already⁴ that ולא בכסף in Isa. xlviii. 10 (and one may add in lii. 3) is a redactor's attempt to make sense out of a corruption of בעלי כשרם, and so, in our passage, בכסף has come from בכשרם.⁵ If this is a complete solution, the sin of which Israel is accused is having sold poor but righteous persons into slavery in N. Arabia.

I do not think, however, that the solution is complete. It seems to me improbable that Israelitish creditors (who alone could be referred to) would have been able to sell their enslaved debtors in the markets of N. Arabia, and since the next distich refers to religious abuses, I hold that the original underlying text of v. 6b must have had a corresponding reference. And since Amos and Isaiah are so near of kin, and the latter, in cataloguing Israel's unpardonable sins (Isa. ii. 6 ff.), begins with the abundance of *kemārīm* and the prevalence of Ethbalite soothsaying, I think it true 'science' (*Wissenschaft*) to remember this when seeking for further light. The suspicious words in v. 6b are מכרם, צדיק, and אביון. Will Isa. ii. 6 help us to

¹ In *E. Bib.* col. 4492 f. שלים is suggested as a correction. But the right one is given in *D. and F.* p. xlvi.

² Sirach xlvi. 20 is only of use as confirming the reading of the present MSS. of 𐤍 in 1 S.

³ See *T. and B.* pp. 255 f.

⁴ *D. and F.* p. 144 (n. 3).

⁵ I.e. in Ashhur-Aram (*D. and F.* p. 63).

correct these? Yes, at least sufficiently to throw a new and probably true light on the passage. מְכַרֵּם should, of course, be כְּמָרִים,¹ צָדִיק should perhaps be דֹּרֶשֶׁם (misplaced), and אֲבִיּוֹן should probably be נְבִיאִים. That prophecy had a N. Arabian origin is a hypothesis abundantly supported by evidence.² The result is that in the original text the first item in the indictment of Israel was, 'because they seek priests in Kashram, and prophets in Arabia of Ishmael.'

This is in perfect harmony with the true text of *v.* 7. I am sorry that here too the close attention of the reader will be necessary, but I venture to hope that he will be amply remunerated. The traditional text begins thus: 'who pant after³ the dust of the earth upon the head of mean men,' which Wellhausen truly characterises as nonsense. The usual remedy is to read הַשָּׂפִים (cp. on viii. 4) and to omit עַל עֵפֶר אֶרֶץ (partly on the ground that the original *ע* seems not to have recognised these words, and partly on metrical grounds). But how did the omitted words get into the text? And is the sense usually accepted special enough, considering the very definite charges brought against the other peoples, and, indeed, if my corrections are successful, against Israel itself in the first distich? To the first question, which presupposes a wrong point of view, no plausible answer is forthcoming. That words have to be omitted I do not for a moment deny, but the omitted words should be בְּרֹאשׁ דְּלִים, underneath which must be words suitable to form a gloss on the words underlying עַל עֵפֶר אֶרֶץ. Like other glosses this would easily pass into the text. And as to the second question, no doubt a more special sense is required. We must therefore scrutinise the text more closely from the new point of view.

What we expect is the specification of some fresh

¹ See on Isa. ii. 6, Hos. x. 5.

² See *E. Bib.*, 'Prophecy.'

³ Torrey (*JBL*, xv., 1896, p. 151) takes this view. 'It was very natural for the reader to connect the participle הַשָּׂפִים with the word נְעִלִים, which it immediately follows. . . . So, side by side with the true interpretation, "These men (of Israel) who bruise the poor man's head," grew up the other, "They sell . . . for a pair of shoes that trample." It was this trampling of the shoes that was further described by the addition of עַל עֵפֶר אֶרֶץ.' This addition, he thinks, was a very old one, and was very likely first written in the form of a marginal gloss.

religious offence. And at once we find one suggested by the application of metathesis. **הַאֲשָׁפִים** should be **הַשָּׂאֲפִים**, 'that practise enchantments.' The verb **אָשַׁף** is implied by the **אֲשָׁפִים** of Dan. i. 20, ii. 2, and is derived apparently through Aramaic from Assyrian. Similarly **עַל-פְּעוֹר** should be **עַל-פָּעוֹר**; **אֶרֶץ** is a redactional insertion rendered necessary by the corrupt **עַפְר**. And **בְּרֹאשׁ דָּלִים** may possibly come from **יְרֻחַמֶּל**, **בְּרֹאשׁ יְרֻחַל** being a shortened form of **יְרֻחַמֶּל**. Thus we get as a strophic line, 'that practise enchantments on Pe'or,' to which is attached as a gloss, 'on the top of Yerahme'el.' The implication is that Pe'or and Yerahme'el (or some form of this) are alternative names for the sacred mountain on which enchantments were practised; cp. Num. xxiii. 28, 'the top of Pe'or, that looks towards Yeshimon (= Ishmael).'

In the following line **דֶּרֶךְ** has been found 'unintelligible.'¹ It is not, however, this word but **עֲבָרִים** that is wrong. Surely we should read **עֲנָרִים**, and render the line, 'and to the way of the diviners they turn aside.' The next distich refers to sacred prostitution² (cp. on Hos. iv. 14), which, though properly belonging to the cult of Ashtart, seems even to have intruded into sanctuaries of Yahweh. We infer this from the words, 'to profane my holy name.'

In v. 8 there are two obscure phrases which are quite unsuitable to the context. Verse 7*b* points to religious practices which went on in the local sanctuaries; nor can we doubt that 'by every altar,' and 'in the house of their god,' though interpolated glosses, correctly express the prophet's meaning (v. 8). But what v. 8 says besides is not in harmony with this localisation. The offence of the Israelites consists, according to the text, in their 'stretching themselves out (?)' to make merry 'on garments taken in pledge,' also in their drinking 'the wine of those that have been fined.' The garments, then, were not their own property, and ought to have been returned before night to the poor men who owned them (Ex. xxii. 26). But this is a purely

¹ So Marti; Harper, 'difficult to define.' Oort and Marti read **יִרְכּוּ**, and omit **יִשׁ** (see v. 8).

² Cp. *D. and F.* p. 120; B. Luther, in Meyer's *Die Israeliten*, pp. 178 f.

moral transgression, and the context requires some religious abuse. As to the wine, it has to be conjectured that the unjust rich bought the wine for their feasts with the money extracted from the poor by means of unjust judicial decisions. How can the Hebrew bear this strain?

Evidently the two phrases referred to are corrupt. In the first, the incorrect words are יָטַר and חֲבָלִים, and in the second the corruption lies in עֲנוּשִׁים יָטַר. I do not venture to emend. To correct בְּנָדִים חֲבָלִים we need a clue, and the clue is not wanting. If the line describes a religious abuse, and if (as the conditions of the case require) the flagrancy of the offence is heightened by the use, in some way, of a particular kind of garment, it is only natural to think of the grave offences referred to (as I think that I have shown), in the true texts of Ex. xxiii. 19 *b* and Lev. xix. 19. These texts, translated, are—'Thou shalt not clothe thee with the garment of a Yerahme'elite woman' and, '. . . a garment of a Shinarite woman shall not come upon thee.'¹ Dt. xxii. 5 may also be compared; here, too, simulated changes of sex in connexion with the cult are prohibited, but in more general terms. And, as we shall see later, the phrase 'all such as are clothed with foreign clothing' in Zeph. i. 8 has a similar reference to the dress of Yerahme'elite devotees. Possibly this dress was of 'goodly' (*i.e.* richly coloured) stuffs, like the Shinarite mantle in Josh. vii. 21.² חֲבָלִים, therefore, is probably the plural of a shortened form of יֶרְחָמַל (חָל = מָל, as in אֲרָבָל). Lastly, as to יָטַר עֲנוּשִׁים. The wine, of course, is drunk in the sanctuaries, where it 'rejoiceth gods and men' (Judg. ix. 13), and the most popular sanctuaries are in N. Arabia. We may therefore assume that 'Yerahme'elite garments' will be paralleled by 'wine of the Ishmaelites,' Ishmael and Yerahme'el being equivalent. But can עֲנוּשִׁים mean 'Ishmaelites,' and was there wine in N. Arabia? To the first question I answer by grouping עָנוֹשׁ with עָשָׂן (Josh. xv. 42), אֶשְׁחָן (Josh. xv. 52), אֶנוֹשׁ (Gen. iv. 26; Isa. viii. 1), שָׁחָן (see on *v.* 2), all of which come from אֶשְׁחָן, or some similar corruption of יֶשְׁמַעֵאל. עָנוֹשׁ therefore can mean 'Ishmaelites.' With

¹ *T. and B.* pp. 565 *f.*; cp. *D. and F.* p. 105.

² *T. and B.* p. 360.

regard to wine in N. Arabia, we have no right to dismiss the textual evidence, for which see *T. and B.* pp. 453 f. Irrigation was by no means a late invention, and N. Arabia in ancient times was different in some necessarily uncertain degree from what it is to-day.

I have already hinted the doubtfulness of vv. 9-12. Verses 10 and 12 are certainly scribal interpolations (see Marti), but I cannot avoid thinking that vv. 9 and 11 may be the work of a disciple rather than of Amos himself. Note the legendary colour of the descriptions of the Amorites,¹ and the exaggeration (cp. Isa. xvii. 9) of the statement that the Amorites had been completely destroyed, also the declaration that Yahweh had raised up prophets (*nebi'im*), though in vii. 14 Amos speaks slightly of the term *nābī'*. If this view is correct, v. 13 follows v. 8, *i.e.* the Doom joins on to the statement of Israel's guilt—the natural order. And what is the Doom? It is a national catastrophe from which none shall escape. The text of v. 13, however, is very uncertain. עגלה for 'harvest-waggon' is unparalleled. A still greater difficulty is caused by מעיק and תעיק, which imply a root nowhere else to be found. The interpretations usually given are not very satisfactory. We expect something definite either about Israel which suffers, or about the people through which Yahweh will punish Israel. If the original text gave this, it must have undergone deep corruption. I confess that I cannot detect the underlying text. At any rate it is a 'vision of immediate judgment' which presents itself before the prophet's inner eye.

But a fuller announcement and enforcement of Doom was needed to overcome (if it were possible) the obstinacy of the people. Amos may possibly have believed that even now repentance might mitigate the Doom, or tend to ultimate good. How else can one account for the prophet's continual iteration of the same theme? Indeed, what we have before us in chaps. iii.-vi. is not a single great discourse, nor even three or four shorter ones, but a collection of passages, some of which, no doubt, are more easily grouped than others. We cannot, therefore, hold with Wellhausen that iii. 1, 2 represents the theme of the whole section, iii.-vi., any more

¹ *D. and F.* p. 137.

than we can accept an improbable view put forward by Haupt (p. 161 (n. 1)). Certainly the passage has an independent existence, and is the work of no mere late gloss-monger, but of Amos, who, by his keen criticism of popular illusions (cp. on v. 18, 20), justifies his claim to mark an era in prophecy. And now as to the text. Marti is, of course, right in holding that v. 1 *b* is an interpolation. I doubt, however, whether he is to be followed in rendering האדמה 'the earth.' I would render v. 2 *b* thus—

With you only am I intimate
Of all the tribes of the land ;

and would point out that in the original text of Ezek. xxxviii. *f.*, Isa. lxvi., Joel iv., Zech. xiv., the nations spoken of appear to be those 'round about' (Joel iv. 12), *i.e.* those to the south and east of Judah (cp. Joel iv. 4 ; Am. i. 2–ii. 3, apart from later insertions). אדמה, in fact, sometimes means the land of the offspring of Abraham ; see Gen. xii. 3 *b*, xxviii. 14. Of all this land Yahweh was *de jure* the God, but only to Israel did Yahweh reveal himself in full measure by his prophets. He has a right, therefore, to expect obedience to his will on Israel's part, for Israel cannot plead ignorance of that will. Verse 3 is a gloss designed to link v. 2 with v. 4 (which begins a new prophetic utterance) ; read נדעו with Marti, and render, 'Do two walk together except they know one another?' Verse 7 is also a gloss,¹ intended to link v. 6 to v. 8. It is interesting, both because it affords a noble explanation of prophecy (p. 15), and because it presupposes the reading יִבֵּנָה in v. 8 *b*. That reading is therefore an old one, but it is not necessarily on that ground correct. What we expect in v. 8 *b*, according to Wellhausen and Nowack, is יִחַד, 'who does not tremble?' But how could יִחַד become יִבֵּנָה? Surely the right reading is יִבֵּן.² Render therefore—

The lion roars, | who can help fearing?

The Lord Yahweh speaks, | who can help giving heed?

¹ Nowack, Duhm, Marti, Cheyne (*E. Bib.* col. 154). On the other side see Harper, and Batten, *The Hebrew Prophet*, p. 333.

² The corruption is like that of אֵבֶן into נִבְיָאִים, ii. 6 *b*, if my criticism is correct.

The text-reading is impossible. For if 'all Yahweh's people were prophets' (Num. xi. 29) like Amos, there would be no judgment to announce.

Another little fragment is iii. 9-11. A cry of alarm is to be raised on the high houses, palaces, or castles in Ashdod and in the land of Mišrim (see below), bidding their inhabitants assemble on the mountain¹ of Shimron, and look down into the city. The prophet believes that the offences of the Israelites are greater and more awful than those of Ashdod and Mišrim. Surely the punishment must be severe. The opening words of the Doom—'an adversary and round about the land'—are unintelligible. We cannot therefore avoid searching for an underlying text. One would expect the Doom to be in some way connected with Ashdod (?) and Mišrim.

First of all, however, we must consider the meaning of the names in *v.* 9. The jest, 'What's in a name,' is certainly not widely applicable in the Old Testament. (1) As to 'Ashdod,' it cannot be the city so called that is meant, for this would not be parallel to 'the land of Mišrim.' **𐤀𐤃𐤃𐤕** undoubtedly read, not Ashdod, but Asshur (interpreting this 'Assyria').² The final, **𐤕** in **𐤕𐤕𐤓𐤕** may be due to ditto-graphy. Besides, Hosea and Amos admittedly supplement each other, and 'Asshur' and 'Mišrim' are three times parallel in Hosea (vii. 11, ix. 3, xii. 2). Nevertheless another solution is equally possible. Ashdodim in Neh. iv. 1 and Ashdod in Neh. xiii. 23 *f.* are clearly = Asshurim and Asshur respectively; a reference to the city of Ashdod is impossible. And since Dod is certainly a regional name, may not Ashdod be so too, the name being = Asshur-Dod?³ What part of N. Arabia bore the name Asshur-Dod, we are of course unable to say. (2) As to Mišrim. That this, and not Mišraim (as MT. and virtually **𐤌𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤓**), is the right pronunciation may be safely asserted, the general atmosphere both of Amos and Hosea being distinctly N. Arabian. (3) As to the wicked city on the mountain, was it Samaria

¹ Singular in **𐤌**. Cp. iv. 1, vi. 1.

² So Winckler reads 'Asshur' (Assyria) and 'Mišraim' (Egypt). *Musri*, ii. 8; *Gesch. Isr.* i. 94.

³ See on vi. 5, and cp. *T. and B.* pp. 23, 47.

(Shōmerōn), which at any rate was on a beautiful rounded eminence? Or, if Amos, like Isaiah and Jeremiah, expected a N. Arabian invasion, was it not a city somewhere near the border of the territory of Israel in the south? To decide this point as far as possible we must group Am. iii. 9 with other passages in which the same question arises. In vi. 1, for instance, are we driven to suppose that the reference to צִיּוֹן is due to a very late revisor who wished for a word in season to his contemporaries in Jerusalem? or, may we not hold (agreeably to the probable context), that צִיּוֹן is a corruption of צִבְעוֹן,¹ *i.e.* Ishmael, in which case the 'mountain of Shimron' (as we may most naturally pronounce שִׁמְרוֹן), will be an Ishmaelite, *i.e.* N. Arabian locality. The same result we shall arrive at presently when we have to explain the region of the benê Israel in iii. 12 b, and later on when we discuss the situation of a city called poetically the 'proud crown,' *i.e.* presumably שִׁמְרוֹן, as described in Isa. xxviii. 1. I must not anticipate too much, but may remark here that according to the text the city referred to is in Ashḥur of Ephraim,² and according to a gloss in the valley of the Ishmannites, *i.e.* in N. Arabia. It is also noteworthy that in Gen. xlv. 13 Shimron is a son of Issachar (*i.e.* Ashḥur), and I may add that references to a southern city of Shimron have been suspected here and there in O.T. narratives (see *D. and F.* pp. 18, 39).

Let us now return to the opening words of the Doom. The necessity of emendation has been recognised, and by a slight interference with the text the sense becomes, 'An adversary shall surround the land.'³ Whether Amos would have recognised this as idiomatic Hebrew seems to me doubtful. For my part, I would rather use the clue which our study of the names has given us, and look for some word meaning some N. Arabian region, out of which an invader might be expected. And without any effort we are fortunate enough to find such a word—it is יִשְׁמַעְעָל,

¹ On Sib'on, see *T. and B.* pp. 20 (n. 1), 85, 425. Sib'on may only be mentioned in a gloss, but such geographical glosses are doubtless correct.

² The original har-Ephraim was in the N. Arabian borderland. See *T. and B.* p. 470.

³ So Wellhausen, Nowack, Grätz, Driver, Harper, etc.

which, among other corrupt forms, assumes those of יבם, יבש, ישוב, and שמש, and probably סביר.¹ The connecting link between ישמעאל and סביר is יסבעל or יסבל; for the change of ש into ס, compare שבלח and סבלח, Judg. xii. 6, and for the duplication of ב, see examples in *T. and B.* pp. 159, 167. Probably we should read יצור ישמ' [על] העיר 'Ishmael shall besiege the city'; for the confusion of עיר and ארץ, see Jer. iv. 29, *G* and MT. The instrument of Yahweh's wrath, then, is Ishmael, a name which can be used in a wider and a narrower sense. In the narrower sense it is the district which contains Shimron; in the wider sense, it is the comparatively distant region of Ṣaphon or Ashḥur, whence the dreaded invaders come. And now we see why, in *v.* 9, Asshur and Miṣrim are summoned as spectators of Shimron's wickedness. It is because (1) Ishmael in the fullest sense includes both Asshur (Ashḥur) and Miṣrim, and (2) Miṣrim was most probably a vassal of Asshur.

Hoping against hope for its repentance, Amos again and again sought to soften his people's heart by repeating his announcement of sore disaster. Another short oracle (*iii.* 12) has been preserved, difficult, no doubt, but yielding up its secret to right methods. Harper, indeed, thinks the old methods adequate, and renders—

Thus hath Yahweh said : As the shepherd rescues
From the mouth of the lion two legs or a piece of an ear,
So the children of Israel shall be rescued, they who dwell
in Samaria

In the corner of a couch, in the damask of a divan.

But the passage is so oddly expressed that a new explanation is desirable. The point lies, according to Harper, in the insignificant character of what is rescued, 'something, indeed, not worthy of mention,' and the curious description of the Israelites is meant to represent them as 'voluptuaries,' 'lying free from care on soft couches.' Will the explanation, however, fit the words? Why are two alternatives mentioned? אר is not common in comparisons, and is rather legal than poetical. Next, were the ears of the

¹ *T. and B.* pp. 195, 341; *D. and F.* p. 41 (n. 3).

goats referred to specially large? It does not seem at all necessary for the comparison. Then, the combination of שְׁתֵּי with the dual form כְּרָעִים is strange; special emphasis on 'two' seems uncalled for.¹ And can we admit such a word as בֶּדֶל, 'piece'? The evidence is precarious. Nor is this all. Why is it stated that the Israelites were in Samaria? Surely this lessens the effect of the luxurious couch and the divan, which indeed ought to have been mentioned in parallel lines. Why, too, 'the corner of a couch'?—the feasters could not all sit in the place of honour. And how can דַּמָּשֶׁק mean 'damask,' or indeed be anything but a place-name? Nor is הַיֹּשְׁבִים quite free from suspicion; in vi. 4 the grandees are said to *lie* on the couches. If בַּשְּׁמֶרֶן is genuine, הַיֹּשְׁבִים can only mean 'those that dwell'; and further, if שְׁמֶרֶן means 'Samaria,' דַּמָּשֶׁק in the parallel line must mean 'Damascus' (as G takes it). The difficulty is that, as Prof. G. A. Smith remarks, there is no evidence of the occupation of Damascus by the Israelites, which leads him to the new and (to me) very strange rendering, 'Damascus-fashion on a couch' (he renders הַיֹּשְׁבִים, 'that sit'). Harper ventures on 'damask,' but דַּמָּשֶׁק (so MT.) surely cannot mean this (see Driver, *ad loc.*).

We can now consider בַּפֶּאֶת ('in the corner of'). For this improbable reading I formerly proposed² בַּצִּפִּית, 'on a carpet,' or 'cushion,' which Marti adopts. But '(those that dwell) in Shimron' cannot be followed by 'in the * of a couch'; the two phrases are mutually exclusive. The truth appears to be that the second phrase as well as the first refers to some place, the name of which is presumably a compound name. Some of the letters of this name have no doubt fallen out, so that it is not too bold to expand פֶּאֶת into אֶפְרַת, and מִשָּׁה into חַמָּתָה = חֲמַתָּה³ (fem. form of חַמַּת); 'in Ephrath of Ḥamath' is a gloss on 'in Shimron.' There was a southern Ephrath and a southern Ḥamath.

¹ The case of שְׁתֵּי in Judg. xvi. 28 is different.

² *E. Bib.*, 'Bed,' § 5; cp. Cheyne, *Intr. Is.* p. 169 (n. 1) (on Isa. xxi. 5).

³ For the former see *T. and B.* pp. 262, 419, 507, 544; *D. and F.* pp. xxiv, 37, 108, 155, 162; and for the latter, *T. and B.* p. 196; *D. and F.* pp. 44, 142.

And it is most interesting to find that in Num. xxiv. 17 (restored text) 'Ephrath-Moab' is parallel to 'the sons of Ashtar.'¹ I venture to think that this restoration of the text of the passage referred to is practically certain, and this encourages me to hope for a like success here. That שַׁת is = אַשְׁתָּר is not less probable than the view that פֶּאֶת comes from אֶפְרַת, and there is strong reason to think that שַׁת (before כְּרָעִים), as well as שַׁת and שַׁתָּה, can stand for אַשְׁתָּר,² i.e. Ashtar, which is equivalent to Asshur and Ashhur. This is a first gloss on הָאֲרִי.

Having, as I trust, cleared up the mystery of שַׁתִּי, I must do my best for the improbable אֲרִי בְדֹלֶ-אֶזֶן. This, in its original form, must have been a gloss (on הָאֲרִי), for אֲרִי is obviously from הוּא ('that is'). The original of what follows is presumably בְּלֶאֱדָן, which, here at least, is a scribe's error for בְּרֶאֱדָד, i.e. Bar-Adad (cp. on i. 4). I may remark that Bir-Dadda is attested as a N. Arabian name for the time of Ashurbanipal, but was doubtless in use earlier. This we may suppose to have been the name of the lion-like invader (cp. Isa. xv. 9, Jer. iv. 7) prophesied by Amos. But little now remains. דְּמֶשֶׁק, as in i. 3, should rather be רְמֶשֶׁק³ (i.e. Aram-Ashhur shortened), which is the designation both of a region and of a frontier-city. When we come to the study of vi. 1-7, we shall see that the Israelites were for a time masters of Ramshak, and in vi. 27 the prophet warns his hearers that they will go into exile 'beyond Ramshak.' As to עִרְשׁ after בְּדֶם, it must, of course, have a geographical reference; it comes from אֶשֶׁר, which is the complement of רְמֶשֶׁק.⁴ Putting all these results together we get this sense for the whole strophe or quatrain—

Thus saith Yahweh : As the shepherd rescues
From the mouth of the lion two shin-bones,
So (meagrely) shall the benê Israel be rescued—
Those that dwell in Shimron and in Ramshak of Asshur.

Glosses on 'the lion,' 'Ashtar,' 'that is, Bar-Adad.'
Gloss on 'in Shimron,' 'in Ephrath of Hamath.'

¹ *T. and B.* p. 110; *D. and F.* p. 162 (n. 1).

² *T. and B.* pp. 362 (n. 3), 503 (n. 1); *D. and F.* p. 93. The instances here given relate to שַׁתָּה, except 1 K. iv. 20 (שַׁתִּי from 'שַׁת').

³ *T. and B.* p. 162.

⁴ *Ibid.*

In the next passage (*vv.* 13-15) there are traces of the redactor's activity in revising and supplementing the clear work of Amos. *Vv.* 13 and 14*a* are plainly later. In *v.* 14*b* מַצְבֵּה (cp. Gen. xxviii. 18), for מוֹבְחֹת, is due to Stade; how can 'altars' (plural) be justified? We have therefore the following material towards a quatrain—

And I will visit the pillar¹ of Bethel,

And the horns of the altar shall be cut off,
So that they fall to the ground.

The Bethel referred to is probably a place of that name in N. Arabia, and the *maṣṣebah*, or pillar, is dedicated to the special deity of N. Arabia, called Yarḥam or Yerahme'el. The name Bethel, at any rate as applied to a N. Arabian place, is probably a very early transformation of יִשְׁמַעֲאֵל = אֶתְבַּעַל.² See further on iv. 4, v. 5*f.*, vii. 10, 13, ix. 1. In *v.* 15 Marti plausibly suggests בְּתֵי הַבָּנִים, 'ebony houses' (*i.e.* houses whose walls were inlaid with ebony) for the impossible בָּתִּים רַבִּים, and (after Driver) illustrates 'summer houses' by a corresponding Aramaic expression in the inscription of Bar-Rekub found at Zanjirli. Indeed, such houses, which met a real want, must have been built by the rich far and wide.

In our survey of the text we now come to the fearful doom of the great ladies of Shimron (iv. 1-3). We have already been told that Israelites dwell there, and that only an insignificant remnant of them shall escape from the N. Arabian invaders (iii. 12). Will the ladies of the capital form part of this remnant? No; this were the idlest of dreams. A few of the Israelitish men may succeed in hiding themselves, but when the palaces are plundered, those gently-nurtured women will become the spoil of the conquerors. And Amos tells us that they will be treated with no more consideration than unruly cattle—a fit retribution for their sinful callousness towards the poor and their lives of luxury. He even calls them 'kine of Bashan.' The phrase is perfectly correct (cp. Dt. xxxii. 14; Ps. xxii. 13; Ezek. xxxix. 18), and such

¹ See *E. Bib.*, 'Massebah.'

² *T. and B.* p. 371.

symbolic phraseology is in the prophetic style. Duhm's proposal to read אִפְּךָ, 'your nose,' for אֶתְנֶם, is therefore acceptable (so Marti). And whither are these cruelly maltreated women to be taken? The text obscurely says, וְהַשְׁלַכְתֶּנָּה הָהָרְמוֹנָה. One may, at any rate, presume that 'הָהָר' includes some place-name (cp. v. 27). But what place-name is most likely? König¹ would read הָהָרָה הָרְמוֹנָה; Driver inclines to הָר מְנִי, comparing Jer. li. 27, and remarking that the passage will thus accord with v. 27, 'beyond Damascus.' But he has doubts whether the corruption may not lie deeper.

We do not, however, expect any mountain range, and in v. 27 the most probable reading is 'Ramshak' (cp. on i. 3, iii. 12), while the ordinary view of Jer. li. 27 is by no means above criticism.² But there are still two explanations which well deserve consideration. (1) הָהָרְמוֹנָה may have come from הָדַרְמוֹנָה (Hitzig). In Zech. xii. 11 we find mention of a 'mourning of Hadad-Rimmon in the plain of Megiddon.' It is true, 'Megiddon' is suspicious. We should rather have expected some place in the southern border-land,³ where the old N. Arabian divine names Hadad and Rimmon may be supposed to have lingered even in a much later period. It is also noteworthy that in Zech. ix. 1 דְּמֶשֶׁק is said to be in the land of הָדָר, a name which is probably a popular shortened form of Ḥadad-Rekem. Now, in spite of small differences, Hadad-Rimmon and Ḥadad-Rekem seem to be nearly equivalent. הָדָר is the name of one of the twelve sons of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 12), and is surely only a hardened form of הָדַד, while רֶמֶן, *i.e.* רֶחֶמָן or רֶעֶמָן, is, equally with רֶקֶם, a popular distortion of רִחְמָאֵל. The goal of the train of captive women may therefore have been some place or district 'beyond Ramshak,' called Hadad-Rimmon. (2) הָהָרְמוֹנָה may, it is also possible, come from הָרְמוֹנָה. There may

¹ *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 459. For versions, etc. see *E. Bib.*, 'Harmon.'

² *T. and B.* p. 146.

³ In Zech. *l.c.* we might read מְנוֹן בְּקֶעֶת. Huldah's husband was probably of Shimron of the Gamrites (*D. and F.* p. 18).

⁴ The name went northward. We find it as הָדָר in the Aramaic Zakir inscription found by M. Pognon. For the form cp. אֲבָד (*T. and B.* p. 467).

have been a N. Arabian district called Ḥermon or (more correctly) Raḥman.¹ It is true, the only Ḥermon we most of us recognise is the mountain range so called in the north, but this, like so many other names, was doubtless carried northward by the Yerahme'elites in the migration.² I somewhat prefer the first view.

At any rate, the doom of these spoiled matrons of Shimron is to be flung (read *וְשִׁמְרֹן*), as objects of no consideration, into a distant N. Arabian land. The whole passage may be called rough and almost coarse, and seems to be unique in pre-exilic prophecy.

In iv. 4-13 Amos addresses the people at large, and declares the repugnance of Yahweh to the sacrificial routine, in which the Israelites place such confidence. It is not images which he denounces, but the non-moral character of the cultus. The only sanctuaries mentioned are those of Bethel and Gilgal, which we may venture to place in the southern border-land, there being more than one Bethel and Gilgal (for Bethel see on iii. 14, and for Gilgal on v. 5, Hos. iv. 15, ix. 15, xii. 12). Scathing, indeed, is the prophet's address; if scorn can be persuasive, Amos stands in the first rank for compelling oratory. But soon he exchanges irony for a style which, though full of meaning for the present age, is partly, at least, derived from traditional mythology. It seems to have been an inherited belief (much older than Amos) that the present age would be closed by a world catastrophe preceded by a succession of plagues.³ Unfortunately the close of the passage, which would have thrown fresh light on Amos's belief, is lost. We have, however, the greater part of the prophet's address, in which he reckons up, as it were, the harbingers of the great calamity, from which even Israel, being so disobedient to Yahweh, cannot hope to be delivered. It seems to me evident that, though the prophet's description is partly suggested by tradition, some, at least, of the divinely sent troubles are facts of experience. Verse 11 refers to some

¹ *T. and B.* p. 33 (n. 2).

² *D. and F.* p. 140.

³ See *T. and B.* p. 542; Zimmern, *KAT*⁽³⁾, pp. 552 f.; Maspero, *New Light on Ancient Egypt*, pp. 229-232; and especially Gressmann, *Eschat.* pp. 169-171. Also above, p. 76.

desolating inroad of the N. Arabians—a foretaste of that which Amos anticipates, and has not obscurely predicted (ii. 13-15, iii. 11 f.); this, indeed, is suggested by the parallelism between *v.* 11 and Isa. i. 9; Hos. xi. 8 (Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboim), also Zech. iii. 2 ('a brand plucked out'). There is also probably a reference to contemporary history in *v.* 10 *a*, which is thus rendered by Harper:—

*I sent among you the pestilence after the manner of Egypt ;
I slew your young men with the sword.*

At the side of the page Harper gives the words, 'together with the captivity of your horses,' which is, in fact, the literal rendering of the closing words of *v.* 10 *a*. But what can it mean? Harper replies that it is a gloss meaning that horses were captured and slain, or that, while the men were slain the horses were captured. He notes, however, the unusual sense given to עַם and to שָׁבִי. Marti, on the other hand, retains what Harper omits, and omits words which Harper retains, viz. 'after the manner of Egypt,' and 'I slew your young men with the sword.' I myself hold strongly that two interpolations were made, viz. בְּדֶרֶךְ מִצְרַיִם, and the words which underlie סוֹסִיכֶם. That the latter words are corrupt, the facts noticed by Harper irresistibly suggest, except that עַם may quite well stay if we give it the perfectly natural sense of 'beside,' and consider 'שָׁבִי סוֹס' to represent a compound place-name. In fact, שָׁבִי, like שְׁבִיָּה in Dt. xxxii. 42,¹ is a scribal error for יָבֵשׁ, which (as we have seen) is one of the corruptions of [יִשְׁמַעְאֵל], though its origin was, no doubt, early forgotten. סוֹסִיכֶם is certainly difficult. Presumably it covers over an ethnic, and considering that סוֹסִים sometimes (*e.g.* in Isa. lxvi. 20) represents יִשְׁמַעְאֵלִים,² it is possible that סוֹס in סוֹסִיכֶם has a similar origin; in this case the final letters יכֶם may have come from יִרְכֶם, *i.e.* יִרְחֶם. Note, however, that Ⲫ^{AQ}* has ἰππων μου, *i.e.* סוֹסִי, the short for סוֹסִים. There are, therefore, two possible readings, but the former is to be preferred. Thus the distich or couplet will become—

¹ *D. and F.* p. 162.

² *T. and B.* pp. 272 f.

I sent among you the pestilence,†
I slew your young men with the sword.‡

† *Gloss*, after the manner of Egypt.

‡ *Gloss*, beside Yabesh of Ishmael [Yerahme'el].

The passage in its present form has a very singular conclusion (iv. 12 *f.*). I will first speak of *v.* 13. This is a doxology, which (as more and more critics agree)¹ expresses the thoughts of some very late supplementer, and it is possible that at any rate part of the first of the two subsequent parallel insertions (*v.* 8) was originally a continuation of iv. 13² (omitting 'Yahweh, the God of Šebā'ōth, is his name'). This may suffice as a preliminary statement as to the origin of these inserted passages. And now as to *v.* 12. The opening stichus, 'Therefore thus will I do to thee, O Israel,' may be correct and the work of our prophet. But I agree with other critics that what follows in *v.* 12 is not original. The true sequel was either lost, or, in the redactor's judgment, unsuitable.

We now turn to *v.* 13, the key to which is to be found in the difficult words, מִה-שָׁחַר. The clause containing them is generally rendered, 'and he tells man what is his thought.' But such a word as שָׁחַר, 'thought,' is fictitious,³ and a reference to God's omniscience is out of place in the context. But let it be remembered (1) that ו often introduces a gloss, sometimes as *Waw explicativum*, sometimes as a fragment of הוּא; (2) that אִרַם and אִדָם are often confounded; and (3) that the regional and ethnic name אִשְׁחֻר is often mutilated and miswritten. It will now become reasonable to restore the clause thus, הוּא מְגִיד לְאִרַם הֵם אִשְׁחֻר, 'he (the prophet) prophesies with reference to Aram, that is, Ashhur.' The words, then, are a gloss, and mean that the instrument of the divine chastisement spoken of in the original text of *v.* 12 is Aram or Ashhur.

The next clause is also unsatisfactory. It is עֲשֵׂה שָׁחַר עִיפָה, where either לְעִיפָה or (עֵ) וְעִיפָה would be an improvement, but even then the words do not suit the traditional context

¹ W. R. Smith (*Prophets*) would hardly have maintained his opposition.

² See *E. Bib.* col. 153 (n. 3).

³ עֵ δὲν χρῖσθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ = מִשְׁחָה.

perfectly. Another view is at least more plausible, viz. to suppose that עֶשְׂה שָׁחַר represents אֶשְׁחֹר written twice over, and that עֶפְהָ means the Arabian people so called, which was akin both to Midian and to Asshur (Gen. xxv. 3 *f.*). 'Ashhur (and) Ephah' will be a second ethnological gloss by another learned scribe, and this gives us a sound point of view for the study of the fragmentary doxology in v. 8. The result is that the clause about the Pleiades and Orion, which comes in so strangely after the address to unjust judges (v. 7), becomes אֶשְׁחֹר יָרְכָם וְאֶשְׁכָּל, 'Ashhur, Yarkam, and Ashkal.'¹ This will be a third gloss, showing that the agent through whom 'thus will I do unto thee, O Israel,' is N. Arabian. And my theory is that, finding these glosses on v. 12 in a mutilated and corrupt form, the pious redactor manipulated them and accompanied the rewritten clauses by others in the same style. It is probable that the few words in v. 12 that follow the first 'Israel' were not enough to fill the space occupied by the lost passage; hence the doxological insertion based on corrupt glosses. But the redactor's recast material was not merely enough, but too much. Hence the necessity for an insertion in v. 8, 9. See, further, on v. 8 *f.*, ix. 5 *f.*

The phrase עַל דֶּרֶךְ בְּמַתִּי אֶרֶץ (iv. 13 *b*) occurs again in Mic. i. 3, and nearly the same in Dt. xxxii. 13, xxxiii. 29; Isa. lviii. 14; Hab. iii. 19, cp. Ps. xviii. 34. In Job ix. 8, however, יָם takes the place of אֶרֶץ. We have now to consider (1) what אֶרֶץ means in the usual form of the phrase—'earth,' or 'land,' and (2), what יָם means in Job *l.c.*, and why it is substituted for אֶרֶץ. (1) When the phrase is used of Yahweh, אֶרֶץ can mean either 'land' or 'earth,' for Yahweh, though primarily the God of N. Arabia and of Canaan, was also (being the director and controller of the subordinate gods) rightly honoured as the God of the whole earth. And if we ask why the 'heights' are mentioned, the answer is that Yahweh and the other *elohim* love their mountain-dwelling, whence rivers of wine and milk, oil and honey,² issue forth into their beauteous paradise. No doubt the phrase is also used of Israel, but we are not kept in ignor-

¹ 'Ashkal' has become, in MT., 'Eshkol'; see *T. and B.* p. 247.

² *T. and B.* p. 84.

ance that it is by Yahweh's favour that Israel marches or rides on the heights of the land, and enjoys its precious fruits.¹ (2) As to Job ix. 8, the possibility exists that 'the heights of the sea' are mythologically regarded as hills which rise out of the celestial ocean. It is probable, however, that *בְּמִתֵּי יָם* in Job means, not 'heights of the sea,' but 'heights of Yaman,' *i.e.* the mountains of Yahman (Yerah-me'el), otherwise called Ishman (Ishmael),² at any rate of N. Arabia. The phrase is natural, because Yaman was Yahweh's primary domain.

Not pausing at v. 1-3, which has no obvious connexion with the preceding or following passage, we come to v. 4-6. It is the theme of the worthlessness of the cultus which is once more treated. The opening seems to be no longer in its original form. It would be more in Amos's style (as Marti points out) if v. 4 began, 'Seek Yahweh, and live' (cp. *vv.* 6, 14). Yahweh and life are on one side; Bethel, Gilgal, Beer-sheba, and destroying fire (cp. i. 4, etc.) on the other. Note that Beer-sheba is reached by 'passing over'; it was, in fact, reckoned to Judah, or, at least, to the Negeb of Judah (2 S. xxiv. 7).³

The view of v. 8 *f.*, which I venture to recommend, has been stated above, and on v. 14 I shall have something important (as I hope) to mention in connexion with 'Immanuel' (Isa. vii. 14). Verse 15 has suggested a theory to Gressmann which can hardly be right. The phrase, 'the remnant of Joseph,' cannot, he thinks, be taken literally, 'since "Joseph" was at that time no remnant, but a flourishing nation.' He supposes, therefore, that 'remnant' had become, by the time of Amos, a recognised eschatological term, *i.e.* that Amos uses it conventionally. It is certain, however, that in iv. 11 Amos speaks of Israel as a remnant, though he does not actually use the word, and that in vi. 6 *b* he speaks of the breakdown of Joseph as a sad reality in spite of successes (probably in N. Arabia).

¹ See, especially, Dt. xxxii. 13 *f.*, Joel iv. 18.

² Cp. *אֲשָׁמָר* from *אָחַר*, and *עֲשָׂוֹת* from *אֲשָׁחֹת*; and see *T. and B.* p. 161. For other instances of *יָם* (or *יָמִין*) for *יָמִין*, see on Hos. xi. 10.

³ Winckler, however, thinks this an incorrect gloss, Beer-sheba being N. Israelitish (*AOF*, xix. 273).

Verse 16 plainly connects with *v.* 12. Injustice and regard for selfish interest being so predominant, a great national disaster, issuing in a national mourning, must be the consequence. Verses 16 *f.* may be thus rendered :

Therefore, thus saith Yahweh,

In all broad places shall be mourning,
And in all streets they shall say, Woe, woe.

And they shall call . . . to lamentation,
And to mourning those skilled in wailing,
And in all vineyards shall be mourning,
When I pass through the midst of thee.

Two of these lines are incompletely given. Let us take the smaller omission first, and consider the text-reading אָכַר (C γεωργός). Surely 'husbandman' is very unsuitable; אָכַר cannot bear the sense 'the unskilled' (Wellhausen). One expects the class-name of some religious ministrants. Probably אָכַר comes from אֶשְׁכֵּר, just as the gentilic ארני (2 S. xv. 32) comes from אשכנז. Probably, too, just as נשדים became a term for magicians, and כמרים for priests of the N. Arabian type,¹ so אשכרים may have meant 'sacred chanters.'

And now as to the omitted second line of the former strophe. The text has אלהי צבאות אדני. The first question is whether Amos ever really uses any divine title compounded with צבאות. The answer partly depends on *v.* 27, which closes with the double formula, 'saith Yahweh, whose name is God of *šebā'ōth*.' According to Marti, שמר, 'his name,' is the thoughtless insertion of a scribe who imagined that he had before him the formula of *iv.* 13, *v.* 8, *ix.* 6. My own view is different. It seems to me that elsewhere the formulae which contain a divine title compounded with צבאות, and even sometimes the whole verse in which such a formula occurs,² are redactional. Marti also holds that יהוה אלהי צ' or יהוה צ' is a popular phrase which (as well

¹ For נשדים see *D. and F.* p. 63; for כמרים, *ibid.* pp. 23 (n. 4), 120; for אשכר, *T. and B.* p. 380.

² Cp. Baumann, *Der Aufbau der Amosreden*, p. 44 (n. 1).

as (יום יהוה) Amos adopted, and filled with a new meaning. Originally, he thinks, it designated Yahweh as the God of the Hosts of Israel. This did not satisfy Amos, who knew that Yahweh was not merely a national God, but the Lord of all powers, including the dreaded hosts of Assyria. On this point, too, I think differently. I agree that the phrase יום יהוה was borrowed by Amos from the people, but not יהוה, which, explained as Marti explains it, seems to me improbable. I venture, therefore, to propose once more a new view, viz. that ה' is parallel to such divine names as Ashtar-Kemosh, Melek-Ashtart. In other words, צבאות must conceal the name of a god, or rather goddess. Side by side with Yahweh (and Yerahme'el) the early Israelites must have worshipped a goddess, who, in fact, represented that primitive mother-goddess of whom, as Barton has shown,¹ the Semitic father-god was a transformation. Elsewhere I have sought to show that among other titles of the great goddess Ashtart were שנת = סנת, i.e. אשנלת ('she of Ashkal') and שבעית (i.e. 'she of Sheba'), and that pre-Deuteronomic Yahwistic legislators changed the former into סנת ('booths'), and the latter into שבועות ('weeks') in the interests of religious reform.² It is only reasonable to take a step further, and suppose צבעית (צבאית) = צבענית ('she of Šib'on,' i.e. 'of Ishmael') to be also a title of Ashtart, which influential religious reformers altered into צבאות³ ('hosts'). It appears from 1 S. iv. 4; 2 S. vi. 2, that the compound divine name ה' צבעית was specially connected with the sacred object called *aron Yahweh*. If that was the case, we cannot suppose that either in the form Sab'ith, or even in the altered form Šebā'ōth, such a name for God would please the austere prophet.

In v. 18-27 we have, among much besides of importance, an incidental statement of the popular interpretation of the phrase, 'Yahweh's day.' The prevalent style of prophecy—that which had pleased generation after generation—gave the people a rose-coloured picture of Israel's future. A catastrophe for other peoples, closing the present age,

¹ *Semitic Origins*, p. 290.

² See *T. and B.* p. 18 (n. 4); *D. and F.* pp. 118 f.

³ *T. and B.* pp. 19 f., 59.

there would indeed be, but Israel would escape, and would live in the light of Yahweh. Amos adopted the eschatological term, but according to his version of the myth only a few men would be left; Israel as a people would be destroyed.¹ No rich sacrificial victims, no sonorous music and singing, could make up for the total disregard of judgment and righteousness. Hence Amos, like Hosea (viii. 12 *f.*), came to hate alike sacrifices and sanctuaries.

In v. 25 this hostile attitude of Amos is justified. In the golden age of Israel's piety (Jer. ii. 2) no sacrifices were offered to Yahweh. For beyond reasonable doubt this is what Amos makes Yahweh say in v. 25, as Marti rightly holds—

Did ye, then, bring sacrifices to me
In the desert, O house of Israel? ²

The answer confidently expected is, No. It is taken for granted that sacrifices meant a falling away from original purity, and only began after the entrance of Israel into Canaan; cp. on Jer. vii. 22. A very different explanation is given by Harper, who attributes both v. 25 and v. 26 to Amos, and has to produce the best logical connexion that he can. This is his version of v. 25 :

Was it (only) sacrifices and offerings that ye brought me in
the wilderness
During forty years, O house of Israel?

According to this scholar, Amos means that the Israelites in the wilderness did really offer sacrifices to Yahweh, only they offered something else too, viz. 'true worship of the heart and righteousness, public and private.' This view, however, which Harper borrows from D. B. Macdonald,³ is not acceptable, (1) because the virtual interpolation of 'only' is too violent, and (2) because the sacrifices possibly offered in the wilderness were too few, compared with those in Canaan, to be worth counting.⁴

Passing on to v. 26, we find Harper rendering the

¹ Cp. Gressmann, *Eschat.* pp. 150-153.

² וסנחה—note the singular—and ארבעים שנה (*T. and B.* p. 264; *E. Bib.*, 'Micah') are obviously glosses.

³ *JBL*, xviii. 214.

⁴ *T. and B.* p. 31.

difficult word וְנִשְׂאָתֶם, 'But now ye lift up,' which practically involves another violent interpolation, while Hitzig makes Amos continue by an adversative clause, 'Rather ye carried.' This, however, implies that the emphasis in *v.* 25 *a* is on לִי, 'to me,' while Ewald and Driver, however, take the construction to be futuristic, 'so, then, ye shall take up.' But how can we imagine the deported Israelites carrying their deities into exile? See Isa. xli. 1. Nor can I venture to accept the view of N. Schmidt¹ that *v.* 26 is a question co-ordinate with and parallel to the preceding, or that of Marti that it is a gloss which professes to be the direct continuation of *v.* 25, and that it should be rendered, 'And have you carried . . .?' an allusion to the later inhabitants of N. Israel whom tradition in its present form represents as a 'heathen rabble'² (2 K. xvii. 28-34).

But what other view is open to us? I think myself that the initial *waw* is that which so often introduces glosses, and that *v.* 26 is made up of glosses (but not Marti's glosses). The original sequel of *v.* 25 has fallen out, and, to fill up the space, a scribe or redactor has inserted what he thought a decisive proof that the Israelites did not worship Yahweh in the wilderness, viz., that they carried in procession the images of other gods, whom he makes Amos mention by name. And now, as to these divine names. Has סַנְת come from Sak-kut, a name of the Assyrian god Ninib, and is כַּיִן from Kaimānu, the Assyrian name for the deity of the planet Saturn? If these views are correct, then *v.* 26 must be a late insertion, for Assyrian divine names cannot have been known to Israel in the wilderness. Well, suppose it is so, let us consider whether these Assyriological theories are tenable. (1) As to the former theory. To arrive at a decision respecting it, we must examine all the various occurrences of סַנְת (סַנְת) in the O.T. In 2 K. xvii. 30, for instance, we read of a deity

¹ *JBL*, xiii. 11 (1894). He renders *v.* 26 thus, 'Did ye then carry about the tabernacle of your king, the image of your god which ye have made for yourselves?'

² The phrase 'heathen rabble' is Torrey's (*Ezra Studies*, 1910, p. 327). Really, however, the colonists spoken of were N. Arabians, as I have sufficiently shown, *i.e.* related, both racially and religiously, to the Israelites.

whose cult was set up by certain colonists from Bābel, called סְנוּר בְּנוּר. If Bābel here is Babylon, it is impossible to explain this divine name satisfactorily; none of the theories is free from objection (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Succoth-benoth'). If, however, a N. Arabian Bābel is meant, the name can be readily explained. The original will in this case be something like Shakkath-Tēbānīth (Tēmānīth), a form compounded of two alternative titles of the goddess Ashtart.¹ The Hebrew name of the so-called Feast of Booths will have the same origin,² and presumably also the place-name familiar to us as Sukkoth.³ Shakkath will be a popular form of Ashkālath, a title of Ashtart derived from the name of a region where she was worshipped. This is certainly more probable than a combination of סְנוּר with Sak-kut, which a careful Assyriologist like Zimmern deliberately calls 'highly questionable.'⁴

(2) Next, as to the latter theory (to explain כַּיִן). It is certainly plausible to point כַּיִן, and identify with Ass. Kaimānu.⁵ But there is no support for this elsewhere in the O.T., and though some divine name must certainly underlie it ('image,' as N. Schmidt and Harper render, being, in my judgment, precarious or rather impossible), we should seek for that name, not in the Assyrian Pantheon, but in the semi-Arabian religion of the early Israelites themselves. Now it has been, I think, sufficiently shown that the mass of the early Israelites paid homage to a divine duad or triad;⁶ the duad would be Yerahme'el (= Ishmael) and Ashtart, and the triad, Yerahme'el, Yahweh (or Asshur), and Ashtart. Yerahme'el (or perhaps Ishmael) is most commonly referred to in the O.T. under the mutilated and corrupt form of Ba'al, but it is possible that other corrupt forms of this divine name were also in circulation, and that one of these was Yarbal, Yarban, or Yarpan. The last of these forms is precisely that which we find in G's version [B] of Am. v. 26, viz. ραιφαν. Another current form may

¹ *T. and B.* p. 18 (n. 4); *D. and F.* p. 119. ם and ן are interchanged dialectally as in the Shibboleth-story (Judg. xii. 6). חָמֵן or חָמֵן represents אֶחְמֵן or אֶחְמֵן (= Ishmael).

² *D. and F.* l.c.

³ *T. and B.* pp. 397, 406.

⁴ *KAT*⁽³⁾, p. 410 (n. 7).

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 410.

⁶ *T. and B.* pp. 15, 16, 33, 35.

have been Yakman, out of which Kaiman or Kaiwan may have arisen. The latter of these derived forms is as near as it could possibly be to כַּיִן.¹

The resulting text may be rendered thus, omitting glosses, 'In fact, ye carried in procession Shakkath and Yakman, your images which ye made for yourselves.' In this a scribe made two insertions (1) מַלְכָּתְכֶם 'your queen,' which both in the text attested by **Q** and in MT. has become מַלְכֶם; and (2) כּוֹכַב אֱלֹהֵיכֶם 'your star-god,' glosses on שִׁכְתָּ and יִכְמָן respectively. It is interesting to notice that the god Yerahme'el was identified in later times with a star.

The close of the prophecy is contained in *v.* 27 *a*, 'and I will send you into exile beyond Dammešek, saith Yahweh,' to which the redactor has appended the formula, 'whose name is The God of Hosts' (see pp. 189 *f.*). But is the reading 'Dammešek' right? Surely, as in *i.* 3, *iii.* 12, we should read 'Ramshak.' By 'beyond Ramshak' Amos must mean some distant part of the Asshurite empire. The reason for the choice of the phrase will appear from *vi.* 1-7, a remarkable passage which will require close attention.

vi. 1-7

We have here a development of the theme of *v.* 27 *a*, with special reference to Shimron. Unfortunately, as critics are agreed, the text is by no means in perfect order. The current corrections, however, are not satisfactory; I have therefore ventured to propose others. The first textual difficulty which meets us is that Šiyyōn (Zion) and Shōmērōn (Samaria) are parallel. What had Amos to do with the land of Judah? And it is not as if Zion were only mentioned incidentally. The doom (if the text is right) is pronounced in the first instance against Zion. If, however, I may assume previous results, Amos as a prophet is concerned, not with Judah, but with Israel, and especially with those Israelites who occupied some part of the N. Arabian border-land (see on *v.* 14). Šiyyon, then, ought to be a name of that N. Arabian district in which

¹ See *E. Bib.*, 'Chiun and Saccuth'; and cp. קַיָּמָה, Ezek. viii. 3, 5 (*D. and F.* p. 74 (n. 3)).

the city of Shimron lay. It is, of course, corrupt, and most probably comes from Šib'on,¹ which so often represents Shim'on, *i.e.* Ishmael.

Next comes a perfect nest of difficulties—**נְקָבֵי רִאשִׁית הַגִּוִּים**, which Driver renders, 'the men of mark of the first of the nations,' which would, of course, be a highly ironical expression. This is, in fact, the generally received view, and though **נְקָבֵי** seems at first sight difficult, it is capable of a learned justification, or at any rate defence, while the phrase **רִאשִׁית הַגִּוִּים** occurs again in Num. xxiv. 20, where it is applied to Amalek. I confess that to me the current explanations of **נְקָבֵי** appear forced, and I cannot help remembering that other difficult expressions in Dooms have turned out to be due to corruption of the text. And as to **ר' הַג'**, such self-praise at the expense of older and greater peoples than Israel is hardly credible. In Num. xxiv. 20 there is no implication of exaggerated self-praise on the part of Amalek; the Israelite writer respectfully admits the traditional antiquity of the kindred race. We must therefore apply our previous experience in textual correction, and read **בְּקָעֵי אַשְׁתָּר גִּלְעָדִים**. [בְּקָעַ, to conquer (lit. cleave) a city, as perhaps in i. 13 and certainly in 2 Chr. xxi. 17 and (Hifil) Isa. vii. 6]. For **אַשְׁתָּר = רִאשִׁית** cp. on **שִׁירֹת**, viii. 3, and for 'Ashtar' see on Hos. iii. 1 and *D. and F.* p. 143. For **גִּלְעָדִים = גִּוִּים**, see *T. and B.* p. 236 (on Gen. xiv. 1).

The next line in MT. is not less impossible. Marti would read **וּבְאֵלֵי בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל**, a supposed but surely not very probable or necessary gloss on line 2. Considering the ease with which letters are omitted, and the liability of 'Israel' and 'Ishmael' to be confounded, may we not read **וּבְאֵלֵי בֵּית יִשְׁמָעֵאל**? For 'Beth-Ishmael,' or 'Beth-Yerahme'el,' see on v. 7, and cp. *D. and F.* p. 51. Thus the first quatrain becomes:

Alas! those that are at ease in Šib'on,
That are secure on the mountain of Shimron!
That have conquered Ashtar of the Gileadites,
And have swallowed up for themselves Beth-Ishmael.

¹ See *T. and B.* pp. 20 (n. 1), 85, 425.

The self-gratulation of these grandees because of Israel's acquisition of two or three important places¹ in the disputed border-land reminds us of the similar temper ascribed (we may assume) to the same people at the conquest of the places mentioned in *v.* 13, and since in point of time the prophecy in *vi.* 1-7 cannot be far removed from that in *vi.* 11-14, the suspicion arises that Lo-debar and Karnaïm may be corrupt forms of alternative names for Ashtar of the Gileadites and Beth-Ishmael. I say deliberately 'corrupt forms'; Lo-debar in particular (though it occurs again in 2 S. ix. 4 *f.*, xvii. 27) is specially unlikely to be the original form. But I am of opinion that underneath both the corrupt forms the originals can still be detected. Underneath *לֹא דִבָּר* or (2 S. ix.) *לֹא דִבְרִי* or (Josh. xiii. 26) *לִדְבָר* a practised eye can trace *גִּלְעָד עֶרְב*² ('Gilead of Arabia'), and that under Ashteroth-Karnaïm (supplementing from Gen. xiv. 5) lurks Ashteroth-Rakman, *i.e.* Ashtar of Yerahme'el.³ It is possible that Ashtar was also called Ashtereth (Ashtart), and that Beth-Ishmael, being (like Ashtar) Gileadite, was also known as Gilead-Arāb.

Reserving *vi.* 2, as a redactional insertion in the wrong place, for subsequent consideration, I pass on to *v.* 3, which begins *הַמְנִידִים לְיוֹם רָע*. This might be rendered literally, 'who in respect of the day of misfortune are pushers away.' But what can this mean? Can it be equivalent to 'who, in their thoughts, reject the notion of a great coming disaster'? *ⲙⲉⲛⲓⲁⲓ*^(AQ*) does not favour this; it has *οἱ εὐχόμενοι εἰς ἡμέραν κακῆς*, where *οἱ εὐχ.* corresponds to *הַמְתַּנְדְּרִים*. This is extremely suggestive; there can hardly be a doubt that the true reading is *הַמְתַּנְדְּרִים*, 'that have gone to war.' That *יוֹם רָע* should be right becomes, of course, impossible. But it is certain that *יוֹם*⁴ (as well as *יָמ*) may represent an original

¹ Relatively important is all that is meant. 'Let us remember that "city" in the O.T. may mean very little. Many so-called "cities" were of highly perishable materials, and would be easily effaced by the destroyer's hand' (*D. and F.* p. xxvii.).

² On *לֹא דִבָּר* = *לֹא דִבְרִי* see *T. and B.* p. 179; and on *בִּר* (*רב*), *ibid.* pp. 109 (n. 2), 159, 197.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 240 *f.*

⁴ *יָמ* for *יָמִים* as in Job iii. 5, where read *בְּיָמִים*, and in *v.* 8, reading *אִירִיִּים*. The phrases mean respectively 'priests of Yaman' and

reading ימן (Yaman)—a regional name of N. Arabia, while רע (like בר above) can, without an effort, be traced to ערב. The only difficulty that remains is the preposition. מתגרים requires to be followed by ב; ל must therefore be a textual corruption.

The parallel line in MT. runs thus, וַתִּגְשֹׁן שְׁבַת הָחַס, 'and bring near the sitting of violence.' But what does this mean? Why 'the sitting' and why 'bring near'? The current conjectures do not reach the heart of the problem. The previous line shows that the thoughts of the great men are not of oppression of poor Israelites, but of successful warfare with foreigners. To make the parallel lines correspond there must be a verb of similar meaning to המתגרים. And does not the right word at once disclose itself? It is not תגשון but תגשון. After this verb we expect the name of a place or district, and in חמס we easily recognise the name רמשה. In 2 K. xiv. 28 (see p. 204) the recovery of Ramshak (= Ramshah) for Israel is an achievement of Jeroboam ii. Then, as to שבת. This is hardly a place-name compounded with רמשה, but may be a slightly mutilated ישבת. Thus the first half of the second quatrain of the Doom of Shimron becomes—

That have gone to war with Yaman of Arabia,
And have dominion over the inhabitants of Ramshah.

Much more difficult is v. 4. It is true that it seems almost perfectly plain. But a description of the luxurious feasting of the grandees does not fit in well with the preceding distich. Whatever may be said against the Shimronites, they were certainly good fighting men, and the abrupt transition from warlike energy to slothful luxury is improbable. On another occasion the accusation of luxury might have been natural, for in the intervals of peace we can well believe that luxurious feasting was no uncommon occurrence (see iv. 1 b). Moreover, the one exception to the general clearness of v. 4 throws suspicion on the whole passage—makes one doubt whether Amos wrote it. The case is not unknown (see e.g. iv. 13, v. 8) 'cursers of Yaman.' Cp. on Hos. xi. 10. This cannot be enforced too emphatically.

that a gloss has penetrated into the text which (being corrupt) the redactor has misread, and that this mistake has led the redactor to interpolate a passage written by himself which does not suit the context. And so it may be here. The word referred to as exceptional by its obscurity is **וּסְרוּחִים**, which ought to mean 'and (are) spread out freely (like a vine),' though others think it may mean 'and (are) unrestrained (like wild animals).' Both meanings are unsuitable. **סְרוּחִים** must therefore be corrupt, and, considering that **הָרוּם** in Judg. i. 35 and **הָרוּם** or **הָרוּם** in Isa. xix. 18 both, we can hardly doubt, represent **אַשְׁחֹר**, the probability is that **וּסְר'** is a corruption of **וְאַשְׁחֹרִים**, 'that is, Ashhurim,' probably a gloss on **יֹשְׁבֵת רִמְשָׁה**. Cp. on **סְרוּחִים**, *v.* 7. No part, then, of *v.* 4 comes from Amos.

We now come to *v.* 5, and are at once confronted with **הַפְּרָטִים**, a strange expression, commonly rendered 'that improvise' or 'extemporise,'¹ but unsupported Arabic comparisons do not inspire much confidence. Indeed, even if it is a banquet that is referred to, yet how can the banqueters themselves be represented as musicians? But we have seen already that it is not the luxurious living of the grandees which is referred to in the preceding context, but their demeanour after military successes. The word which that context requires is **הַמְתַּפְּאִרִים**, and **עַל-פִּי הַנָּבֵל** should probably be **עַל-בֵּית יִרְחֻמָּאֵל**. **ב** and **פ** are constantly confounded; **בִּי** is the short for **בֵּית**; **הַנָּבֵל** has developed out of **חֻבֵּל**, and this out of **יִרְחֻמָּאֵל**. On Beth-Yerahme'el see above. The next stichus is still more important because of its supposed relation to the history of the psalms. David, it is said, cannot have written religious hymns, because Amos implies that the songs which David wrote, or for which he composed the music, were secular. Surely this is too hazardous. The text as we have it speaks neither of songs nor of music, but of instruments of music which David invented. Evidently the text is wrong. I have already offered a restoration of the whole of *v.* 5,² but I have since seen that a more methodical and comparative and therefore a more satisfying criticism was wanted.

¹ See Driver's note.

² *Exp. Times*, 1898, p. 374 (and in Harper).

I would venture, then, to notice that in the only other passage (Isa. xxix. 1) in pre-exilic prophecy in which the history of David is supposed to be referred to, דוד is probably to be pronounced, not 'David,' but 'Dōd,' and that Dōd is at once a divine name and a regional, and points distinctly to N. Arabia.¹ Now if 'Dōd' has become 'David' in one place, it may in another, and not only in pre-exilic, but in post-exilic prophecy, *i.e.* not only in vi. 5 (pre-exilic) but in ix. 11 (post-exilic), nor is it an important objection that both in vi. 5 and in ix. 11 the reading is דוד; the redactors were inconsistent. So far as vi. 5 is concerned, the Dōd-theory is confirmed, in my opinion, by the neighbourhood of כלי שיר, which, remembering שור for אשור (see on ii. 1), we may safely correct into כל-אשור (the י may be a fragment of א). But then, it may be asked, what is the meaning of 'like Dōd'? The question, however, implies a misunderstanding. דוד would be just as wrong in one direction as כדוד in another. The initial כ should be כל. 'All Asshur' and 'all Dōd' are alternative readings (cp. Ashdod, *i.e.* Asshur-Dōd). But we have still to account for and correct חשבו. It is not difficult; the word specially marked out is surely כבשו. And so the second half of quatrain ii. becomes—

That boast themselves because of Beth-Yerahme'el,
(That) they have subdued to themselves all Asshur.

Alternative reading, 'all Dōd'?

Verse 6 opens with the rather improbable description, 'That drink in bowls of wine.' Elsewhere מורק is only used of 'the large bowls or basins from which the blood was *thrown* in a volume against the altar' (Driver), and we have no evidence that Israelite banqueters used these large bowls instead of goblets, preferring quantity to quality (contrast next line). The probability is that both מורק and מורה² (v. 7) are manipulated corruptions of רמשק and רמשח respectively. As for יין, here, as in some other passages

¹ *T. and B.* pp. 47 f.

² Prof. G. A. Cooke (*N. Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 121) refers to מורה in our passage to illustrate the obscure מ in the Marseilles sacrificial tariff.

(e.g. Hab. ii. 5), it has come from יָנֵן, and הַשְׁתִּים may easily have sprung from הַתַּפְּשִׁים.¹ In the parallel line יַמְשִׁחַר is an easy corruption of רַמְשַׁח; ראשית, as in v. 1, = אַשְׁתָּר; and שְׁמָנִים (as in Isa. xxviii. 1) comes from יִשְׁמָנִים. The true second line of the quatrain has fallen out; 'Ashtar of the Ishmannites and Ramshah' is, probably, only a gloss on 'all Asshur,' limiting the exaggerated statement.

Verse 6*b* runs thus, 'and they are not sick at heart for the ruin of Joseph.' This, however, does not accord with the context. How should those who are boasting of a successful campaign be expected to realise the imminence of ruin and captivity? It is true that not long since a severe lesson had been given them (iv. 11), but such lessons are soon forgotten when prosperity returns. Marti would transfer the line to v. 13, but does it suit the new context any better? At any rate v. 6*b* has no business here. The next verse begins well, but metre requires us to begin line 4 of the quatrain with בְּרָאשׁ, or with whatever underlies that word, so that the verb parallel to יָגֵלוּ has either fallen out, or else is represented by וְסָר. The latter view is preferable; read נִסְוִירוּ, and for בְּרָאשׁ גְּלִים read מֵאֲשֹׁר גְּלִים. אֲשֹׁר for ראש is fairly common; גְּלִים is explained on v. 1 (גִּרִים). 'Asshur of the Gileadites' occurs probably in the true text of Hos. vi. 9. Thus quatrain iii. becomes—

That have seized on Ramshah of Yavan,

Therefore now shall they go into exile,
From Asshur-Gallim shall they retire;

and in place of line 2 we have 'Ashtar of the Ishmannites and Ramshah,' a gloss on 'all Asshur' in quatrain ii.

We now see even more plainly than before that the Israelites of Amos's prophecies are in occupation of a great part of the southern border-land, and are manfully seeking to wrest still further territory from the southern Arammmites or Asshurites. In iii. 12 their description is 'those that dwell in Shimron and in Ramshah of Asshur.' In v. 27 they are to go into exile in some part of the region

¹ תַּפַּשׁ with ק, as in 1 K. xi. 30.

'beyond Ramshak.' And from vi. 1, 3-7 we learn that the Israelites who have occupied (perhaps reoccupied) Ramshak, and made it (as would appear) their outpost, are to go into exile, and that the grandees of Shimron will swell the captive train. They will therefore have to retire from the land for which they have fought so hard, and we may plausibly infer from i. 5 that they will, according to Amos, be carried away to Kir, *i.e.* some part of the distant land of Ashhur. It is true that in i. 5 the people who are threatened are the Arammmites, but between the composition of i. 3-5 and that of vi. 1, 3-7 an interval may reasonably be allowed. See further on v. 14.

The Doom of Shimron has suffered considerably both by textual corruption and by the intrusion of alien matter. It is of the latter that I have now to speak. Both from a text-critical and from an exegetical point of view v. 2 must be an interpolation.¹ It is, however, only misplaced; there is no sufficient reason for denying the authorship of Amos. To understand it aright, we must group it with the two similar passages, Isa. x. 9-11 and Nah. iii. 8-11. In the former passage Jerusalem is warned not to expect better treatment from Asshur (which, as a gloss in Isa. x. 5 tells us, is in Yarham²) than a number of cities, all of them probably in N. Arabia, including Shimron and Ramshak.³ In the latter Nahum bids the city, whose true name underlies נִנְוֶה (Nineveh), take warning by the fate of a city whose name is given as No-Amon. Here, too, as I have sought to show elsewhere,⁴ it is the fate of N. Arabian cities which is pregnant with instruction for the Israelites. If these interpretations are correct there can be no doubt as to the meaning of Amos vi. 2. It means that since each of the three cities mentioned has fallen before the Asshurites, Shimron's turn will soon come. Kalneh⁵ may perhaps be a scribal corruption of לִבְנָה (Libnah); חֲמַת רֶבָה may come from ח' עֲרֶבָה; for the southern Hamath (= Rahamath?), see *T. and B.* p. 196,

¹ So Bickell, Schrader, Wellhausen, Nowack, Marti, and Harper.

² See *D. and F.* p. 40 (n. 2).

³ *Ibid.* p. 40 (n. 1); cp. *Crit. Bib. ad loc.*

⁴ *D. and F.* p. 40. Read, of course, גְּבֻלַּת הַמִּדְבָּר וְהַמִּדְבָּרִים אֵלֶּם.

⁵ This may, however, be the Kalno of Isaiah, and even the No in the No-Amon of Nahum.

D. and F. pp. 44, 142. **אתבלים פלחים** should be **פלחים = אתבלים** (see on i. 8).

In vi. 8-10 we have a description of the decimation of the people of 'the city' by war and pestilence. The latter part of *v.* 10 has been found very troublesome (see Harper). Looking at the whole passage from a stylistic point of view, one would say that it ought to close at **ואמר אפס**, 'and he shall say, None.' That is really impressive; anything additional does but impair the effect. The general sense, too, is clear in spite of the enigmatical words with which *v.* 10 opens. The rest of the verse—after the words quoted—does not even yield a clear general sense. Take **ואמר דם**, 'and he shall say, Hush.' How can this possibly follow **ואמר אפס**? Several critics therefore omit the inconvenient words as a mere dittograph of the preceding words in a corrupt form. But, even supposing that **אפס** had become nearly effaced, why should a scribe insert, as a conjectural substitute, **דם**, 'Hush!'—for this is by no means suitable to the preceding context? It is true, the following words, **כי לא להוֹכִיר וגו'**, are plain in themselves, and certainly *appear* to fit in with **ואמר דם**. But what acceptable meaning can such a gloss¹ have? A record of a mere superstition is, of course, inconceivable.

The problem before us, therefore, is to account for the latter part of *v.* 10 more adequately than has yet been done. To do this we must take *v.* 10 *b* in connexion with viii. 3, where **דם** occurs again without any satisfactory explanation (Marti) for the clause in which it stands. And we must, here as always, remember that the Israelites to whom Amos is at any rate chiefly sent are those in the N. Arabian border-land, and that one of their chief towns was 'Ashtar (or Asshur) of the (southern) Gileadites,'² also that another name for the border-land is 'Ashkal,' and that 'Ashtar' is sometimes equivalent to 'Ashkal.'³ The later scribes knew little about these things; no wonder that they often removed the traces of the N. Arabian names. **אשכל** (Ashkal) therefore may, in viii. 3, without rashness, be

¹ Torrey, *JBL*, xv. 153; Box and Oesterley (in Harper).

² See quatrains i. and iii. of the Doom of Shimron (chap. vi.).

³ *T. and B.* pp. 18 (n. 4), 23, 40 (n. 3); *D. and F.* pp. 24, 93.

traced under השליך, and חרם¹ (*i.e.* Ashhur) under הם. Similarly underneath היכל we can again trace אשכל, and underneath שירות (cp. on ראשית, vi. 1) we can easily recognise אשתר. Thus the whole verse (viii. 3) becomes, omitting a redactional formula, and reading והליל (sing.)—

And Ashkal shall howl in that day,
Many are the corpses in every place ;

in line 1 'Ashtar' is a gloss on 'Ashkal,' and appended to line 2 is the gloss, 'Ashkal, Ashhur.'

We have now a clue to the problems of ואמר הם and 'לא להזכיר וגו' in vi. 10. The former has come (ultimately) from ארם אשחר, 'that is, Aram-Ashhur,' a gloss on גוי in v. 14. The latter, which is its continuation, from 'כי לא לאשחר בישמן [ירח]' in Ishman² [Yerahme'el]. There were (as we have seen) two N. Arabian Asshurs; the appended gloss tells us that the nearer Asshur is not here to be thought of. The nation spoken of in v. 14 is the great and warlike Ashhurite people which was comparatively distant from Israel.

Verse 13 having been already explained (p. 196) we can pass on directly to the difficult and important 14th verse. We must, of course, take this in connexion with the misplaced gloss in v. 10^b, which apparently states that the nation which Yahweh was about to raise up against Israel was that of the more distant of the two Asshurs. In v. 14^b the limits of the region exposed to invasion are mentioned. These are 'from . . . Hamath to the torrent-stream of the Arabah,' or perhaps 'of Arāb³ (Arabia).' In 2 K. xiv. 25 almost the same limits are assigned to the region recovered by Jeroboam II. for Israel; the 'sea of the Arabah' should perhaps be 'Yaman-Arāb,' *i.e.* 'Arabian Yaman'; the phrase used for Hamath we shall consider presently. In v. 28, it will be noticed, Hamath is again referred to as recovered

¹ See p. 198.

² וזכר and זכר or אורה come from אשחר. להזכיר may therefore spring from לאשחר; cp. the titles of Pss. xxxviii, and lxx. שם (as in the case of the patriarch's name) sometimes represents ישמן (= ישמעאל). יהוה sometimes = 'ירח'. 'Yerahme'el' is an alternative to 'Ishmael.'

³ This torrent was perhaps the boundary of Israelitish Arabia.

by Jeroboam, and to the name in MT. is attached the enigmatical word לִיהוּדָה. Kittel thinks it the best course 'simply to cancel' this word, without being able to say how it came in. Stade, on the other hand, thinks לִיהוּדָה a 'Judaistic correction' for לִישְׂרָאֵל. But how can that possibly be? Could any Judaite scribe have imagined that Judah ever had anything to do with (the northern) Hamath? Where all else is dark, one thing at any rate is clear, that, if progress is to be made, new methods must be called in to supplement the old, and the results of a keener criticism elsewhere must be utilised in our present distress. Well, there are a number of passages for which a satisfactory sense can only be won if יהוּדָה be supposed to be miswritten for יְרֻחַמַּל, i.e. יְרֻחַמַּל. One form of the name of the city referred to was therefore 'Hamath of (*lit.* belonging to) Yerahme'el,' another probably was 'Hamath in Ishmael,' for יִשְׂרָאֵל is sometimes (e.g. vi. 1, Zech. ix. 1) miswritten for שְׂמַעְיֵאל. We may venture to hope, therefore, that the problem of 2 K. xiv. 28 has been solved, and that the original text (cp. p. 203) ran thus—'. . . and how he recovered Ramshak and Hamath of Yerahme'el [in Ishmael].'

Certainly it is only a probable correction, but it is at any rate based on a comparative and methodical criticism of the text. Nor is it perhaps inconsistent with the phraseology of Amos to which we have now to return. In Am. vi. 14, the phrase used for the first boundary is, not 'from Hamath,' nor 'from Hamath of Yerahme'el,' but *millebhō hamāth*. This is generally rendered 'from the neighbourhood of Hamath'; Hamath was indeed a 'land' (2 K. xxiii. 33), as well as a city. But the combination of prepositions is somewhat awkward, and Olmstead has raised the question whether לְבָא or לְבוֹא, whenever it occurs before 'Hamath,' is not really a proper name.¹ It seems to this scholar that Ⲭ in Judg. iii. 3 has given the clue with its *λωβημαθ*, and he compares the Libo of the Antonine Itinerary, 198. 3, = the modern Lebweh. I would myself rather group Lebo(?)—Hamath with place-names compounded with אֶבֶל or בְּעַל; this of course implies that the common origin of לְבָא and אֶבֶל is בְּעַל, unless indeed (a step forward

¹ *Sargon of Assyria* (1908), p. 52 (n. 2).

which all my readers may not follow me in taking) the common origin of לבא and אבא be באל, a shortened form of Yerahme'el, and בעל be an abbreviation of אשבעל = ירשבעל.¹

It may be objected that in Josh. xiii. 5 and Judg. iii. 3, Ba'al-Gad or 'Ba'al-Hermon' and *lebho-hamāth* stand side by side. This, however, is not decisive. The scribes of these passages may have been misled by the accidental circumstance that the 'Baal' prefixed to 'Hamath' was written with א instead of ע; 'Ba'al' they would have been able to interpret, but not 'Ba'al'—accordingly they altered באל into לבא or לברא, and a redactor assimilated the forms elsewhere to the forms in those two passages. What Amos means, therefore, is tolerably clear. It is that the warriors of Aram-Asshur would crush the Israelitish inhabitants of the N. Arabian border-land from Baal-Hamath to the torrent-stream of Arāb (?). This result in Am. vi. 14 makes it not improbable that 1 K. ix. 65 is based on part of some lost record which referred, not to the temple at Jerusalem, but to the leading sanctuary in the Negeb.² For here, too, *lebho-hamāth* is the first limit; the second is *nahal-miṣrīm*.

GROUP OF FIVE VISIONS

We next come to a series of visions (vii. 1-9, viii. 1-3, ix. 1-7) interrupted by a narrative of Amos's stormy colloquy with the priest of Bethel (vi. 10-17), and by a collection of passages of varied origin (viii. 4-14). The description of the visions is fraught with difficulty. Take *e.g.* v. 1. I must confess (1) that formerly³ I was misled by an excessive respect for ⚡, and (2) that, like others,⁴ I attached undue importance to the superficial resemblance of לקש to מלקוש. The points in which it is most plausible to follow ⚡ are—(1) יצר (*ἐπιλογη*) for יצר, and (2) the substitution of ילק (*βροῦχος*) for the second לקש. It has not, however, been noticed that underneath both לקש and ילק there lies a

¹ See *T. and B.* p. 50.

² *D. and F.* pp. 114 ff., 152 f.

³ *Crit. Bib.* pp. 141 f.

⁴ G. Hoffmann (*ZATW*, iii. 116), 'לקש, the growth of grass which the מלקוש, the March and April rain, ripens.'

regional or ethnic name, and that in each case the underlying name is the same. לָקַשׁ, like שָׁקַל (Gen. xxiii. 16, etc.¹), may, and in such a context must, come from אֶשְׁקַל = אֶשְׁכַּל (see p. 403), and יָלַק (cp. on הִיכַל, viii. 3, p. 203) has the same origin. Then, returning to MT., אָחָר, as so often, comes from אֶשְׁחָר; גִּוִּי from גִּוִּי (cp. גִּוִּי γωγ); הַמֶּלֶךְ from רִחַמֶּל or from עִמְלֶק. Critics in general acquiesce in MT.'s גִּוִּי הַמֶּלֶךְ, and render 'the king's mowings,' supposing the reference to be to a tribute in kind. The expression is obscure, however, and not likely to have formed part of a gloss. (That *v.* 1 *b* is a gloss has been seen by Nowack.) It is by no means certain that גִּוִּי can mean 'mown grass'; Ps. lxxii. 8 at any rate does not prove this.

To sum up. Verse 1 should most probably run thus—'This was what [Adonai] Yahweh caused me to see. Behold, a brood (יָצַר) of locusts, at the beginning of (the time for) the going-up of Ashkal' (*Gloss*, 'Surely, *lekesh* is Ashhur, a people of Yerahme'el').

The 'going-up of Ashkal' refers to the raids to which the Israelites in the N. Arabian border-land were annually exposed from the Yerahme'elite peoples. A similar phrase occurs in 2 S. xi. 1, 'at the time when the Yerahme'elites go forth.'² The locusts in Amos's vision may be either symbols of the N. Arabian tribes, or forerunners, not less dangerous, of those warriors. At any rate, the calamity is averted by the intercessory prayer of Amos, who, as Marti remarks, plays the same part here, and also in the next vision, as Moses in the so-called Plagues. I am sorry I cannot assent to the theory, based on Ἡ βροῦχος εἰς γωγ ὁ βασιλεύς, which Prof. N. Schmidt puts forward in *E. Bib.*, 'Scythians,' § 4.

Passing over the vision of the drought, on which nothing now occurs to me, I come to the third vision. Here Yahweh appears as a builder who tries the wall which has been raised. Whatever does not stand the test will be destroyed. The wall, however, receives an odd description. The text of vii. 7 runs thus: 'This was what he showed me. Behold,

¹ *T. and B.* p. 339.

² David's object was to anticipate a raid of the Ammonites. המלאכים is probably a corruption of ירחמלים (cp. עמלקים).

Adonai stood by a wall of 'anāk, and in his hand was 'anāk.' If 'anāk means 'a plumb-line,' it is evident that the phrase חומת אנך is impossible, and, for 'ח' 'א', we should simply read חומה.¹ 𐤀, however, gives ἀδάμας ('steel') as the rendering of אנך, and difficult as this rendering is Marti inclines to accept it. I hesitate to follow this critic, and would rather suppose the first אנך to be a corruption of אדני, which word originally stood in the margin as a gloss supplement to הוֹרָאִי (cp. vv. 1, 4). In fact, 𐤀^{BA} actually has in v. 7, Οὐτως ἔδειξέν μοι Κύριος.² It should be added that 𐤀^B gives no name of God in clause 2 of v. 7, while 𐤀^A inserts ἀνὴρ, i.e. אִישׁ. Probably Marti is right in accepting this, and also in treating אדני as an interpretation of יהוה. Thus v. 7 becomes: 'This is what Yahweh showed me. Behold, a man standing by a wall, and in his hand was a plumb-line.'

No intercession is ventured by Amos here. 'I will not pardon him any further,' saith Yahweh. The holiest places shall be desolated, and the house of Jeroboam shall be destroyed (vv. 8 f.). But why are the *bāmōth* connected with Isaac? Does 'Isaac' include Judah, though 'hardly Edom' (Wellhausen)? Or is it synonymous with Israel in the parallel clause, i.e. N. Israel (Marti)? Or, if both Isaac and Israel were both originally heroes of the N. Arabian border-land,³ may not Amos (himself a southern Israelite), mean at any rate to include (that is all that is claimed) the border-land in the region over which the prophetic doom is uttered?

THE VISIONS INTERRUPTED

At this point the visions give place for a time to living, concrete facts. It may not always have been so; vv. 10-17 have probably been transferred from some other place. It is noteworthy that while in vii. 1-9 Amos himself speaks,

¹ So Wellhausen, Nowack, Harper.

² In v. 1 B has Κύριος ὁ θεός; A Q simply Κύριος. In v. 4 A has Κύριος ὁ θεός, B Κύριος.

³ It is possible that both יִשְׁחָק and יִשְׂרָאֵל have virtually the same origin, the former coming from אִשְׁחָק, the latter from אִשְׂרָאֵל. See *T. and B.* pp. 289 f., 404.

in *vv.* 10-17 he is spoken of in the third person, though it is just possible that in the original form of this passage it was Amos who related. It is the contents, however, which most concern us. We have heard of Bethel before (*iii.* 12, *iv.* 4, *v.* 5), and now we are introduced to its priest. There were at least two Bethels, and, as elsewhere in the book, it is probably the southern one that is intended; we may notice in this connexion that in *v.* 13 the sanctuary is virtually identified with that built by Jeroboam I.,¹ which was probably in the Negeb. Hosea does not give a flattering portrait of the priests of this region, but at any rate Amaziah treated his visitor rather gently. He could not avoid reporting Amos's preaching to the king. 'Amos,' he said, 'has conspired against thee in the midst of the land of Israel: the land cannot contain all his words' (they are a dangerous fermenting element). No doubt he hoped that his vigilance would meet with some reward, but he did not wish to be cruel to this wandering 'seer.' Had he waited for the royal answer he might have been compelled to greater strictness.² What he says in his report is liable to be misunderstood. 'Jeroboam' (*v.* 11) and 'the house of Jeroboam' (*v.* 9) are no more inconsistent than 'the house of Israel' (*v.* 10), and 'the house of Isaac' (*v.* 16). The 'house of Jeroboam' would be nothing without its head, and 'Israel' means the Israelites who dwell in the region of Šib'on, on the mountain of Shimron (*vi.* 1; *cp.* *iii.* 12), while Isaac is properly the patriarch of the southland (see p. 207).

Amaziah's address to Amos and the answer of Amos to Amaziah are also not as clear as might be wished owing to uncertainty of text. The priest bids the troublesome seer shut his mouth in Bethel (the sanctuary being the king's, and belonging to the state), and take refuge in the land of Judah (see below). So says the text, but a better sense seems to be produced if, for יהודה, we read ירח, *i.e.* ירחמאל.³ To this Amos replies, first by dissociating himself from the 'sons of the prophets' (*i.e.* members of prophetic guilds), and stating how it was he came to leave the non-

¹ 1 K. xii. 28-33 (see *Crit. Bib. ad loc.*).

² See Jer. xxvi. 20-23.

³ The corruption is not unparalleled. See on Am. vi. 14.

Israelite part of Yerahme'el, and next by a realistic picture of the scenes which will be enacted in captured Bethel when his stern anticipations shall be fulfilled. He thinks apparently that that fulfilment is close at hand.

But, for us, the most interesting part of Amos's speech is that which relates to himself (vii. 14 *f.*). The text presents some great difficulties, and it is impossible to follow any of the commentators throughout. Take, for instance, Dr. Harper's version :

I am no prophet, nor am I a prophet's son,
But a shepherd am I, and a dresser of sycomores ;
And Yahweh took me from behind the sheep,
And Yahweh said unto me :
Go, prophesy against my people Israel.

The rendering 'shepherd' has no adequate justification. The text has בוקר 'cow-herd,' which, however, is inconsistent with the language of *v.* 15. Almost all critics, therefore, correct ב' into נקד, comparing i. 1 and following ⚙ which here has αἰπόλος. We have seen, however, that נקדים in i. 1 is corrupt, so that all that a reference to נקדים, or, more correctly, בנקדים, can do is to suggest a mode of treating בוקר and the equally questionable word בולם. Well, it is hardly necessary to point out that in בנקד[ים] and בוקר there is an important common element, viz. קר (קד), and that קר, like כר in בית כר (1 S. vii. 11), may perfectly well stand for רקם = ירחם, also that בר may easily have come from בן. If, then, בנקדים has been rightly explained in i. 1, there is a strong probability that בוקר should be similarly explained as = בן רקם, *i.e.* בן ירחם.—Next, as to the difficult word בולם. It is usually supposed to be a loan word from Arabic, and to mean 'one who tends figs'; so that upon this theory Amos combined the care of a small, stunted kind of sheep (Arabic, *naḡad*) with that of a kind of figs, or, more definitely, of *shikmim*, *i.e.* the small, insipid fruit of the sycomore tree. It is, however, not very credible that the highly-cultured Amos had these mean occupations. It is true Elisha was called to be a prophet from the plough, but we never hear that Elisha had any rhetorical gifts or literary culture. And if I have rightly explained בוקר in this passage and בנקדים in

i. 1, it can hardly be doubted that בִּרְלָם is equally corrupt, and to be accounted for in a similar way, *i.e.* it represents בֶּן יִשְׁמַעֵאל = בֶּן שִׁמְל = בֶּן סַמֵּל¹. It only remains to explain שְׁקָמִים. Surely this must come from שְׁקָרִים,² a combination of two shortened forms of ethnics or regionals (with the plural ending), viz. אֲשַׁחַר = שֶׁק and אֲרָם = רֶם. Hence the last two words of *v.* 14 are two glosses, viz. 'son of Ishmael' and '(son of) the Shaḡramites,' glosses on the preceding phrase בֶּן רֶקֶם.

Verse 15 completes the prophet's apologia. He is not like other prophets, but had a special call to deliver a message which could but be most unpalatable to its hearers. It is customary to follow the traditional text which says that Amos was fetched 'from behind the flock.' The correctness of this reading may, however, be doubted. Again and again אַחֲרֵי and אַחֲרֵי have come from אֲשַׁחַר,³ and צֶאֱן from צִבְעֹן = יִשְׁמַעֵאל,⁴ and so—if consistency is desirable—it must be here. Verses 14 and 15 should therefore be read thus:—

'I am no prophet, nor am I a member of the prophets' guild, but a (plain) Raḡmite am I (*glosses*, an Ishmaelite, a Shaḡramite); and Yahweh fetched me from Ashḡur-Šib'on, and Yahweh said to me, Go, prophesy upon my people Israel.'

Who, then, was Amos, according to his own statement? Not, as most suppose, a Judaite. That Amaziah directed Amos to flee into the land of Judah is by no means certain. Of course Amos could have gained his living there by the customary fees, but the sense is better if we accept the correction proposed above, and read, not 'Judah,' but 'Yeraḡme'el' (see on vi. 14). The land of Yeraḡme'el was the early home of prophecy, and there the demand for the lower type of prophecy would naturally be the greatest. Another admissible name for this region (*i.e.* for the non-Israelite part of Yeraḡme'el) appears to have been Ashḡur-Šib'on⁵ (*v.* 15),

¹ ס and ש interchanged, as in Sibboleth and Shibboleth (Judg. xii. 6).

² Cp. *D. and F.* p. 63.

³ *T. and B.* p. 276.

⁴ *Crit. Bib.* on 1 S. xvi. 19.

⁵ Šib'on and Asshur or Ashḡur also play a conspicuous part in the Doom of Shimron in vi. i. 3-7, from which we may assume that the names were comparatively elastic.

and thence Amos declares that a divine impulse fetched him to prophesy concerning Israel. The name of Amos's town is also preserved (i. 1): it was Tekoa, but not the Tekoa of Judah, for the same tradition which represents him as a Tekoite, also calls him 'a son of Rekem,' *i.e.* a Yerahme'elite; indeed, Amos himself claims this designation. It is perfectly possible that there was more than one (Tekoa).¹

THE VISIONS RESUMED

The visions of destruction are now resumed (viii. 1–ix. 7), but are interrupted by a collection of heterogeneous passages (viii. 4–14). In viii. 2 *b*–3 the symbol of the summer fruit (קָק) is interpreted as the end (קֵץ) of Yahweh's people Israel. *V.* 3, rightly read, shows that the prophet is specially thinking of his fellow-Israelites in the N. Arabian border-land. The text has been considered already (pp. 202 *f.*).

In *vv.* 9 *f* (unconnected with the visions) we have a poetic description of the general gloom and mourning, alluding perhaps to *v.* 3 *a*. 'I will make it like the mourning for an only son.' The phrase אֲבֵל יָחִיד here and in Jer. vi. 26, and a similar phrase in Zech. xii. 10, may point to a ceremonial lamentation for a dead son of God, prevalent in the N. Arabian border-land, though; the significance of the phrase may have been forgotten.² Indeed, the phraseology of *vv.* 9, 10 seems all rather conventional. Perhaps it may be suggested by some old hymn on the Day of Yahweh.³

Vv. 11–13 cannot be quite in their original form. The hunger and thirst were originally literal, not metaphorical. Whether *v.* 14 originally followed may be doubted. *V.* 14 *a* is in fact a valuable collection of divine names popularly connected with three of the chief sanctuaries, among which, however, Bethel is not included. We are not to suppose that Yahweh was not worshipped at these holy places, but

¹ Tekoa may be a popular corruption of Maakath. That there was a southern Maakath appears from a careful study of Dt. iii. 14; Josh. xiii. 11; 2 S. x. 6.

² *T. and B.* p. 56.

³ Gressmann.

that other deities as well were admitted into the divine Company. Amos is displeased with the worship of these deities because it is unethical, and tends to wrap the worshippers in a dangerous illusion.—(a) The first divine title has been ironically altered; it appears disguised as 'Shimron's Guilt.' But what can be the name underlying *ashmath*? Can it be *ashērath*,¹ and the reference be to the Asherah which Ahab made at Shōmērōn or Shimrōn (1 K. xvi. 33)? More probably אשמת is to be grouped with the אשימה of 2 K. xvii. 30, which is probably a popular corruption of ישמעאלית, one of the titles of Ashtart.²—(b) The second should lie enclosed in the formula חִי אֱלֹהֶיךָ דָן '(As) liveth thy god, O Dan.' But אֱלֹהֶיךָ cannot possibly be right; we expect either a name or a title that can be used as a name, and this it ought not to be hard to find. The final ך probably comes from ר; there has also been transposition of letters. Thus we get ירח[מ]אל. Yahweh and Yerahme'el made a divine duad, which with the addition of Ashtart became a triad. 'Yerahme'el of Dan' corresponds to 'Ishmeelith of Shimron.'—(c) The third enters into the formula חִי דֹרֶךְ בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע. דֹרֶךְ, however, is very strange, and makes the formula untranslatable. For, in spite of the references of Drs. G. A. Smith and Driver to modern Arabian oaths, it may be seriously doubted whether in the present contest an oath by the pilgrims' road to Beer-sheba is possible. I admit the attractiveness of G. Hoffmann's and Winckler's proposal to read דֹרֶךְ 'thy (divine) friend or patron,' which indeed I formerly adopted,³ for דֹרֶךְ was certainly a divine name.⁴ But the pronominal suffix seems to me now as improbable as in the case of אֱלֹהֶיךָ (above). What, then, shall we do? shall we read דֹר,⁵ and suppose the ך to have arisen out of a dittographed ד? A better course is to read דֹרֶךְ[ח]; the phrase 'Hadrak of Beer-sheba' would be quite natural. Elsewhere,⁶ it is true, Hadrak is a regional, but it may quite well be primarily a compound divine name, and be shortened from

¹ So W. R. Smith, Stade, Oort, and Grätz.

² *T. and B.* p. 18 (n. 3).

³ *E. Bib.*, 'Amos.'

⁴ *T. and B.* pp. 46-49.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 46 (n. 2).

⁶ Zech. ix. 1, and, as הֹדֶר, in M. Pognon's Zakir inscription.

חֲדָד יִרְחָם, Ḥadad-Yarḥam (cp. Hadad-Rimmon). Ḥadad, in Gen. xxv. 15, is a son of Ishmael, and the name is certainly = Hadad which occurs in a list of Arammite¹ kings (Gen. xxxvi. 35, 39). Of course, it was not only a royal name; it was the name of a god, and, like Yarḥam, was N. Arabian. In the Amarna tablets we find it under the forms Addu, Addi, Adda, and in a Babylonian list of gods as Adad and Addu;² in the name of an Arab chief it appears as Dadda. Whether Dōd is a popular creation out of some such form may be left open. At any rate, Dōdah (in combination with Ar'al = Yerahme'el) occurs in the inscription of Mesha (l. 22), and implies a masc. form Dōd. In a passage like the present Dōd could hardly have been omitted. Whether the Beer-sheba intended is that so familiar to us is not quite certain. See on v. 5, but cp. *T. and B.* p. 312, and on Yarḥam as the god of Beer-sheba see on Hos. iv. 14 b.

CLOSING VISION; AMOS'S LAST PROPHECY; A SCRIBE'S APPENDIX

And now one more vision—the last (ix. 1-6). Yahweh appears standing by the altar; he issues a command that the house be so smitten as to fall. He adds that he himself will slay the assembled worshippers, even to the last man. The worshippers, as one must suppose, represent the nation. The agent of destruction is probably one of the benê Elohîm. And where is the sanctuary spoken of? A gloss interpolated in a corrupt form into the text of v. 1 remarks (with reference to the altar) הוּא בַצֶּמַע' בְּאֶשֶׁר יִרְחָמָאֵל, 'it was in Šim'on in Asshur-Yerahme'el.' It is true, the reader will look for this in vain in the MT. But the fact is that the בַּצֶּמַע of the MT. is so difficult that some of the best critics (including Wellhausen) are in despair. Only new (or partly new) methods will avail in such a case. Applying these, we shall, I hope, see that בַּצֶּמַע is simply an abbreviated בצמטון,⁸ 'in Šim'on,' and Šim'on (like Šib'on,

¹ *T. and B.* pp. 428 f.

² *KAT*⁽³⁾, p. 444.

³ So צמטון, Isa. xxxv. 7, = יִשְׁמְעָאֵל; נִמְצָא in Judg. xx. 48 has the same origin (*D. and F.* p. 142).

vi. 1, etc.) is a popular corruption of שִׁמְעָאֵל = שִׁמְעֹן. This was the designation of the region in which the sanctuary was; the name of the place was apparently Asshur-Yerahme'el, the same place, perhaps, which figures in the story of Josiah's reform and in the original text of Deuteronomy.¹ The name was also applied both to a district of the large Yerahme'elite region and to the local divinity.²

Israel, then, at any rate in the southern border-land, shall be destroyed. Even if some should go into captivity the sword would find and slay them in the foreign land. Still more dreadful: should they succeed, like heroes of old, in climbing up to heaven, the hand of Yahweh would fetch them down; or should they break in to Sheol, or hide themselves in the recesses of Carmel, or in the sea, the vision of escape would but heighten the final agony. Besides, coiled up on the floor of the sea there was a serpent. At a word from Yahweh the serpent would be aroused and bite them. This reminds us of the passionate cry of the afflicted Job (iii. 8):

Let the magicians of Yaman curse it,
Those who have skill to stir up Leviathan.³

It appears, in fact, that, according to one version of the old dragon-myth, the chaos-monster was not destroyed by the victorious Creator, but only confined at the bottom of the sea. 'Leviathan' and 'the serpent' may perhaps be names for the mythic dragon.⁴

Verses 5 and 6 form a most strange sequel to v. 4. Evidently they are post-exilic, and to be judged like iv. 13 and v. 8 f. We are, therefore, the less surprised at the undeniable reference to Miṣraim. After this, another abrupt transition to a short speech of Yahweh, which may perhaps once have been connected with vv. 1-4 by linking verses which have fallen out. The speech runs thus, omitting a redactional insertion:

'Are ye not as the sons of the Kushiyyim to me, O sons

¹ *D. and F.* pp. 27, 115 f.

² *T. and B.* pp. 23, 276.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 6, 41.

⁴ See *E. Bib.*, 'Dragon,' 'Leviathan,' 'Serpent.'

of Israel? saith Yahweh.' Who *are* these Kushiyyim? and what does the prophet mean? According to Harper they are the Ethiopians, and what the prophet means is that Yahweh cares no more for Israel than for this 'far-distant, uncivilised, and despised black race.' This indeed is the general view, but will it stand? Far-distant the Ethiopians were, but there is no evidence from the O.T. that they were despised, and Harper himself remarks that 'about this time' Piankhi, king of Ethiopia, reduced the petty princes of Egypt to tribute, and Shabako seated himself on the throne of Egypt. Harper, however, and his fellow-commentators seemed to have missed the mark here. It is probable, as Winckler has shown,¹ or rather to all intents and purposes as good as certain, that the Kushites meant are those of N. Arabia.² Possibly there is an allusion to some great massacre of N. Arabian Kushites, which Amos regards as parallel to the anticipated slaughter of the Israelites; a similar slaughter at Beth-arbel is referred to as typical by Hosea (x. 14). Simply to explain with Harper, 'Israel is no more than the Kushites,' is insufficient; the special mention of the Kushites must surely have been suggested by some concrete fact which seemed to prove that Yahweh was indifferent to the people of Kūsh.

The rest of *v.* 7 is probably a redactional insertion.³ Certainly Amos can hardly have had an archaeological interest; the origins of the Philistines (?) and the Arammites did not make his pulse beat quickly. The supplementers, however, were in their way archæologists, as Duhm and others have pointed out. Not, indeed, mere archæologists; they held that the seeming accidents of history were in the service of Him without Whom not a sparrow can fall to the ground. When Israel came out of Mišrim, why was his way so wonderfully smoothed? Because Yahweh dealt with Israel as with a son (Hos. xi. 1). But the other peoples Yahweh 'brought up,' not out of personal sympathy, but simply to accomplish ends of his own. Israel has now sunk to the level of the other peoples, and the supplementer, to cast down Israel's pride, represents even the Exodus as no

¹ *Mušri*, ii. 8.

² See *D. and F.* pp. xlii. f. 42, 83, 88.

³ See Winckler, *op. cit.*

more dictated by the personal sympathy of Yahweh than the migrations of Israel's neighbours.¹

It is possible that the saying about the Kushites was not quite the last of Amos's prophecies. The abruptness of it disinclines one to regard it as the prophet's last word. The redactor may have had his reasons for omitting the sequel. He (or some other) also added the doubtless post-exilic passage, ix. 8-15. It was intolerably painful to later readers when a prophecy ended in unrelieved gloom; insertions were therefore often made to neutralise a seeming excess of severity. These insertions were of an eschatological purport; the Israelites, as we have seen (p. 17), had a store of eschatological myths. One of these related to the day of Yahweh, which the people loved to depict as a day of joy. Of this the higher prophets greatly disapproved because it was opposed to their moral principles. We may be quite sure, then, that the group of prophecies to which ix. 8-15 belongs was not by any of the higher prophets, least of all by Amos (see on v. 18). There are also minor arguments which I have attempted to collect elsewhere,² but the grand argument is sufficient. Things being so, I am surprised that Prof. Ed. Meyer should venture to say,³ 'The closing chapter of Amos I hold to be in all that is essential genuine.' Even if the Egyptians had Messianic prophecies (p. 10), are the prophets of social righteousness bound to have composed them, stultifying their inmost convictions?

It is remarkable that the closing section of Amos, like that of Hosea, betrays the writer's perception of the N. Arabian atmosphere of the genuine prophecy. I base this statement on a single phrase, and in order to warrant it the phrase requires to be criticised.⁴ How, indeed, can one avoid criticising such a strange phrase as סֶכֶת דָּוִד, 'David's booth' (v. 11)? Listen to Prof. Driver's comment. 'The term itself denotes a very humble structure, which here, in addition, is represented as fallen. In the following words the figure

¹ On Kaphtor, which is some N. Arabian region, see *D. and F.* pp. xxiii, 138; on Aram and Kir, see above on i. 5; and on 'Philistines,' on i. 8.

² See *The Expositor*, 1897, pp. 44-47.

³ *Die Israeliten*, p. 453 (n. 1).

⁴ Cp. *Hibbert Journal*, July 1903, pp. 828 f.

of the booth is neglected ; the "breaches" being those of a wall or fortress (cf. iv. 3 ; Is. xxx. 13). These expressions are evidently intended to represent the humbled state of the Davidic dynasty ; though what the humiliation actually referred to is, is uncertain.' These candid statements ought surely to awaken in critics great searchings of heart. How can the Davidic dynasty be described as a 'booth' or, as German scholars give it, a 'hut'? The attempted answer is, Because the dynasty was humiliated, but the phrase required is one which is applicable to the dynasty in its pride ; it was the palace of David which fell (הַמְּקִלָּה), not a 'booth' or a 'hut.' And note the admission that no sooner is the figure of the 'booth' adopted than it is cast aside in favour of the figure of a wall or fortress. Are we not driven by these improbabilities to question the soundness of the text? and is it not methodically correct to draw a suggestion from passages in which סִנָּה or סִנְהָה is unsuitably read in MT., and has been, with probability if not certainty, corrected? Such passages are v. 26 ; Gen. xxxiii. 17 ; Dt. xvi. 13, from a scrutiny of which it appears¹ that סִנָּה sometimes comes from שִׁנָּה = אֲשַׁנְלָה, a title of the goddess Ashtart, a linking form being סִלְנָה. This too is probably a N. Arabian name, belonging to an important commercial city.² It is in fact probably this city Salekath which was intended by the writer of Am. ix. 11 f., who, knowing that the doom pronounced by Amos applied especially to the southern borderland, was inwardly impelled to announce Israel's future reconquest of that region. Once replaced there the Israelites would be well able to assert their sway over the Edomites and Yerahme'elites who had at any time been tributary to Israel.

There is little more to add, save that v. 13 reopens Paradise without the imposition of any moral conditions. The phrase about mountains dropping new wine (cp. Joel iii. 18) is an allusion to the streams of Paradise.³ How

¹ For Gen. and Dt. see *T. and B.* pp. 315 ff., 406 f., 409 ; *D. and F.* pp. 119, 139.

² In Dt. iii. 10 Salekah is represented as one of the cities of Og king of Bashan. The original text of v. 11 (part) may have run, 'Surely his land is the land of Ishmaelite Arabia,' see *D. and F.* p. 141, and (on Bashan), pp. 138, 143.

³ See *T. and B.* pp. 41, 85.

unsuitable for the contemporaries of Amos! As Dr. G. A. Smith remarks,¹ 'All these prospects of the future restoration of Israel are absolutely without a moral feature.'

6. HOSEA SECTION

At first sight there appear to be two titles to the book of Hosea. The first, omitting the chronological note, which, as in similar cases elsewhere, is evidently redactional, runs thus, 'The word of Yahweh that came to Hosea ben-Beeri'; the second, 'The beginning of Yahweh's speaking in Hosea.' The second, however, belongs only to i. 2-9, and is not strictly accurate, for the 'speaking of Yahweh' is given in the setting of a narrative; words and deeds in this remarkable section cannot be separated. But before I go into the details of the narrative, let me first of all comment on the statement in i. 1 that Hosea was בן-בְּעִרִי, the son of Beeri. It is very doubtful whether there was any Israelite place called Be'er. Such a place-name does indeed occur in Judg. ix. 21, but there, probably, בֶּאֱרַב should be עֶרֶב, and so too in Dt. i. 5, xxvii. 8, Hab. ii. 2, the supposed בְּעִיר should be עֶרֶב (*D. and F.* p. 135). Probably too in Hos. i. 1 בְּעִירִי should be עֶרֶבִי, so that Hosea was of Arabian, *i.e.* Yerahme'elite, extraction. This fits in with the many phenomena in the book, which show that Hosea's predominant interest was in the Israelite portion of the N. Arabian border-land.

It is still more clear that Hosea's wife was N. Arabian by birthplace, if not also by race. This we see from her name, Gomer bath-Dibblaim (i. 3). The names of her children are symbolical, as Hosea himself assures us, but her own name is not represented as having any mystic significance. We may therefore expect to find Gomer² elsewhere. In fact, the name stands first in the list of the seven sons of Yepheth (Gen. x. 2),—a list which includes Yavan = Yaman = Yerahme'el, and, as I have shown, refers entirely, as indeed Yepheth itself also refers, to N. Arabia.³ Dibblaim,

¹ *The Twelve Prophets*, i. 191.

² Cp. on γομορ, ii. 2 b (G).

³ *T. and B.* pp. 117 and 155 (Yepheth); pp. 156-162 (sons of Yepheth).

too, equally with Diblathaim (Jer. xlviii. 22), doubtless has a similar reference. We shall see this at once on altering ד into ר, which we have a perfect right to do if the forms Diblaim and Diblathaim prove inapplicable by philological methods. That they have proved inexplicable can scarcely be doubted, whereas it is surely undeniable that רבל and רבלה yield an excellent meaning on being grouped with ירבעל (Judg. vi. 32), and ארבל (Hos. x. 14), which are both slightly corrupt forms of יר[ח]באל.¹ 'Riblaim' might mean 'The two Rebels'; Riblathaim, 'the two Riblahs.' Two towns of the same name may have existed close together. Most probably, however, the final ים, at any rate in רבליים, should be pointed ים, which is sometimes (as *e.g.* in Hos. xi. 10) the short for ימן. On the original 'Gomer' it is less important to have a positive opinion.² We know at any rate that it is a N. Arabian regional or ethnic; also that Hosea's wife, who bore that name, was a 'daughter,' or native, of Rebel of Yaman, *i.e.* the N. Arabian Rebel. 'Rebel' and 'Riblah' probably mean the same place. There seems to have been a southern as well as a northern Riblah.³

The narrative proceeds, 'And Yahweh said to Hosea, Go, take thee a wife of whoredom and children of whoredom.' Does this mean that Gomer was known to have been a loose liver when Hosea married her? Certainly there must have been unchaste women enough among both Yerahme'elites and Israelites, seduced to that transgression of ancient custom by the example of the *kedēshōth* in the temples of the N. Arabian goddess⁴ (cp. on Hos. iv. 13 *f.*; Am. ii. 7). The idea seems to have been that a violation of the marriage tie, which was an honoured usage in the sanctuary, could not be unjustified. But how could Hosea have been divinely bidden to unite himself to an harlot (cp. 1 Cor. vi. 15-20)? and how could the fruits of such a union be used as symbols of the divine purposes? and what connexion can be supposed to exist between the name 'Jezreel' and the

¹ Cp. also ראובל, the original form of ראובן (*T. and B.* p. 374).

² *T. and B.* p. 157; *D. and F.* pp. 17 *f.*

³ *D. and F.* p. 44.

⁴ In Jer. v. 7 *Zonah* means Ashtart (see on vi. 10).

unchasteness of the mother? A new theory has therefore been proposed by Wellhausen and W. R. Smith. It became evident to Hosea, they think, in process of time, that Gomer's children were not his, but another man's. It was a painful piece of family history which, being a prophet, he had to interpret. This he did in the light of two firmly established principles: (1) that the land of Israel was mystically united to Yahweh as his spouse (cp. i. 2 *b*; Isa. l. 1-3, liv. 1-6), and (2) that the steps of a man, and especially of a prophet, are directed by God. Hosea, therefore, became convinced that Yahweh had bidden him to marry 'a wife of whoredom,' and so to obtain children who were presumably, like their mother, 'children of whoredom.' The object of this was to give the people some faint idea of the horrible treatment accorded to Yahweh by faithless Israel. This is certainly plausible, but how could Yahweh, who was one with his prophet, have suffered him to marry such a woman as Gomer? and how could Hosea's painful discovery have been adjourned to some time after the birth of his first son?¹ and how (one must repeat) could 'children of whoredom' be used as signs and portents from Yahweh (Isa. viii. 18)?

It is plain that some new explanation is required, and the most essential part of what I believe to be the right one has been proposed by Prof. W. Staerk (*Ass. Weltreich*, pp. 193 *f.*). The infidelity of Gomer has been imported into the narrative, and is contrary to Hosea's meaning. The manipulation of the text of i. 2 is due to a false inference from ii. 4-7 (see p. 224). It took place early, because chap. iii. presupposes that Hosea already has one adulterous wife (see on iii. 1). Thus we get as the original divine speech in i. 2, 'Go take to thee a wife and children.' But is this natural? Here Prof. Staerk leaves us in the lurch. The construction is said to be a zeugma, but the phrase does not read better in Hebrew than in English. May we not take a hint from iv. 11, vi. 10, where זִנוּת has probably come from צִבְעִיָּה (a title of Ashtart)? Šib'on

¹ In *E. Bib.*, 'Prophecy,' § 36, I take זִנוּת as = 'heatheness.' Hosea married a Yerahme'elite wife because of the heathenish cultus practised at sanctuaries to which even Israelites resorted.

(Gen. xxxvi. 2, 20) is derived from Ishmael, which, like Yerahme'el, is applied to the N. Arabian borderland. ירדי too should probably be corrected into ירל, the short for ירחמאל. Thus we get, 'Go, take thee a wife from Šib'on¹ [Yerahme'el Sib'on].' Now we see the reason for the particularity in the naming of Hosea's wife. And if it be asked why Yahweh should bid his prophet take a wife from N. Arabia, the answer is that there was a reforming party there, whose members (like Huldah afterwards) were the strictest of strict Yahwists.² I venture to think that Prof. Staerk's incomplete theory has been considerably improved by these suggestions.

And now as to the children. The firstborn—a son—is called Jezreel (i. 4), in allusion to the massacre of the family of Ahab by Jehu (2 K. ix., x.), which is to be avenged, according to Hosea, by the breaking of the bow of Israel in the valley of Jezreel. I shall have to return to this name presently (see on ii. 2-24). The second—a daughter—is called Lo-ruhamah (i. 6), *i.e.* 'Uncompassionated,' in token that Yahweh will no more have compassion upon the house of Israel. There may perhaps be an allusion here to the name Yerahme'el (interpreted 'God hath compassion'); Hosea detaches the sovereign 'quality of mercy' from Yerahme'el, and assigns it to Yahweh (cp. ii. 21). The third child—a son—receives the name Lo-ammi (i. 9), *i.e.* 'Not my people.' Israel is now no more to Yahweh than any other people—just the idea expressed in the last genuine passage of Amos (ix. 7 a).

In this narrative two later insertions are made, profoundly modifying its effect. In *v.* 7 a promise is introduced by a Judaite scribe for Judah, contrasting with the refusal of compassion to Israel in *v.* 6. 'But the house of Judah will I compassionate, and will deliver them by Yahweh their God,' to emphasise which is added, 'and will not deliver them by bow, nor by sword, nor by warfare (*so text*), nor by horses, nor by horsemen.' The main idea of this is characteristically prophetic, and became distinctive of the Hasids in the later Jewish community (Hos. xiv. 4; Ps. xxxiii. 16 f., xlv. 6-9). But how strangely מלחמה 'warfare'

¹ אִשָּׁה מִשִּׁבּוֹן.

² *D. and F.* pp. 18-20.

comes in between 'sword' and 'horses'!¹ The same difficulty occurs in ii. 20; Ps. lxxvi. 4, and virtually Zech. ix. 10, x. 4, nor have the older critical methods provided any way of removing it. It has, in fact, been overlooked that (as in מלח עיר מ', גיא מלח) מלח is one of the popular corruptions of ירחמאל. What the original text had was מלח, which the scribe, or scribes, mistakenly assumed to be the short for מלחמה; in our passage, in ii. 20, and in Ps. lxxvi. 4 ו was prefixed, to prevent the absurd expression 'bow (or sword) of warfare,' which however in Zech. was suffered to remain. The true reading in Hos. i. 7 is, 'nor by sword of Yerahme'el,'² and in ii. 20 'I will break the bow and the sword of Yerahme'el out of the land.' Evidently the Yerahme'el bow and the Yerahme'el sword were the most feared. By Yerahme'el (which can have a larger and a narrower sense) the writers probably mean the N. Arabian Asshur (cp. Jer. v. 16 f.).

The second insertion is ii. 1-3. It declares (vv. 1, 2) that the estrangement between Israel and its God shall cease, and the number of the people shall be preternaturally increased, in accordance with the conventional picture of ideal prosperity. No longer shall Israel be designated Lo-ammi. A new name befits the new æon; we are told that it shall be, not 'sons of Abraham' or 'of Israel' or even 'of Yahweh,' but 'of the living God.' This is a fine, a deeply significant, and also a characteristically late phrase. Those who used it were athirst for the 'living water,' by which grew (as the Paradise-myth doubtless related) the tree of life, and at the head of which rose the exalted throne of God. I may perhaps venture to refer to my note on Ps. xlii. 3.

In that day too the unhappy schism between north and south shall be ended (v. 3). United under 'one head' (so the text says), the benê Yehudah and the benê Israel shall 'go up out of the land.' And here the writer bethinks himself of the name already given by Hosea to his firstborn (i. 4), viz. Jezreel, and adds, 'for great (*i.e.* not terrible, but

¹ Nowack and Marti venture to omit the word.

² Another phrase is 'sword of Yewanah,' Jer. xlv. 16 (see *D. ana F.* p. 43).

glorious) shall be the day of Jezreel.' This is not indeed quite plain, for 'the day of Jezreel,' like 'the day of Midian' (Isa. ix. 3), should refer to a battle in which Israel was victorious over its enemies, and no such battle has been spoken of. Nor is this the only point which is left obscure in the text. Out of which 'land,' we ask, are the combined Judaïtes and Israelites to 'go up'? Some critics reply, out of the land of exile; others, out of the land of Canaan, the 'going up' meaning the migration of the surplus Israelitish population in search of fresh territory. It may be added that 'one head' instead of 'one king' is surprising, and that if 'the land' means the land of exile, the appointment of the head should have been subsequent to the entrance into Canaan (cp. Ezek. xxxvii. 22).¹

It is not rash, therefore, to presume that v. 3 is by no means free from corruption. We must not, however, be arbitrary in our corrections, but follow the analogy of other eschatological passages relating to the prosperity of the ideal future. Two such passages are Am. ix. 12 and Obad. 18 ff., in both of which, as it would appear, the conquest of the N. Arabian border-land is promised to the Israelites. And surely such an expectation was only natural. The nascent prosperity of Israel was bound to be attended by an expansion of territory, and where but in the southern border-land should an interpolator of books like Hosea and Amos place the scene of this expansion? We may expect, therefore, to find in Hos. ii. 2 a reference to a great victory of the restored Israelites, and the scene of this victory will be in the region archaistically called Ashhur and Yerahme'el. With this presupposition, then, and with the memory of textual results elsewhere, we approach first of all the improbable ראש אֶחָד. Surely this covers over the two alternative readings אֶשֶׁר² and אֶשְׁחָד³, while עלו מן comes, not from אלהים,⁴ but from ארומל, i.e. ירחמאל, and הוראן, or rather (omitting the redactional article) ארן, has to be trans-

¹ 'And I will make them one nation in the land upon the mountains of Israel; and one king shall be king to them all.' It is Yahweh who will gather the Israelites, and bring them into their own land.

² See *D. and F.* pp. 174 f.

³ See on v. 8.

⁴ Klostermann, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, p. 200.

posed. שָׁמַר is less transparent. It would seem to be a fragment of some verbal form meaning 'submit' or 'cause to submit,' perhaps הִשְׁלִימוּ (Josh. xi. 19). Thus we get הִשְׁלִימוּ יְהוּדָה וְאַשּׁוּר וְאֶרֶץ יִרְחָמֶ'ֶל, or, translating the whole verse: 'And the benê Yehudah and the benê Israel shall gather themselves together, and bring Ashhur and the land of Yerahme'el into submission to them: for great shall be the day of Jezreel.'

And now we see the practical object of the reunion of Judah and Israel. It was to recover, once for all, the N. Arabian border-land, so hotly contested of old, and consecrated by such precious traditions. Then would there be another great 'day' or battle, and the scene of the battle would be the very same mountain-plain of Jezreel, in which, if Hosea foresaw rightly, the fate of Israel had been decided. But Jezreel was not the only symbolic name of Gomer's children. Lo-ammi and Lo-ruhamah cannot indeed be reinterpreted like Jezreel, but they can be manipulated. 'Say ye of your brethren Ammi, and of your sisters Ruhamah' (ii. 3). Thus too a link is provided between the introductory section which is partly narrative and the following one which is purely prophetic (cp. ii. 25).

We now approach the fine prophetic utterance referred to, for 'fine' it may justly be called, though only ii. 4-15 is Hosea's work. The latter expresses the prophet's fundamental charge against his people—they have made themselves guilty of spiritual whoredom, or, as we might say, of a lapse into heathenism. It may be well to add, for the benefit of modern readers, that the divine names Yerahme'el and Ba'al are probably identical.¹ The Baalim are, in fact, the Yerahme'els of the local sanctuaries, and the fault of so many of the Israelites was that they practically identified Yahweh with Yerahme'el (out of whom, historically, Yahweh developed).² This had pernicious consequences, the cult of Yerahme'el being not nearly as progressive as that of

¹ *T. and B.* p. 50.

² Not to enter here into a long argument, note that the two pillars in the porch of Solomon's temple are called, the one (probably) Yakman, *i.e.* Yerahme'el, and the other Azbel, *i.e.* Ishmael (1 K. vii. 21). Yerahme'el and Ishmael are both names of the leading N. Arabian deity. See *T. and B.* pp. 30 (with n. 3), 369.

Yahweh. Israelites who, even if but half-consciously, realised this subordinated, or, we might perhaps say, subjected the god Yerahme'el to the great God Yahweh, and looked for the day when the worship of Yahweh (Israel's true husband) would extinguish that of the Baals or Yerahme'els. This surely is the idea expressed by ii. 18 in its correct original form :

And in that day, saith Yahweh, she will call on her husband,
And will no more call on the Baalim.

It is no small debt that we owe to Duhm and Marti for restoring this. For the traditional text requires us to suppose that the Israelites once called Yahweh 'Baali,' a most improbable view.

In referring to ii. 18 I have already passed to the supplementary portion of the prophecy which is not the work of Hosea. The passage, however, really illustrates the Baal-religion of Hosea's time ; it seemed worth while, therefore, to comment upon it in this connexion. Verses 4-15 hardly need a fresh exposition ; Nowack, Marti, and Harper have quite sufficiently dealt with them. One more passage, however, in the supplement does appear to need a specially keen criticism. Verse 17, literally rendered, runs thus :

And I will give to her her vineyards from thence,
And the valley of Akor for a door of hope,
And she shall answer there as in the days of her youth,
And as in the day she came up from the land of Miṣraim.

Here we are at once confronted by three great difficulties which baffle ordinary exegetical methods. Can מָשָׁם really mean 'when she has reached that place' (Harper), and if it can, what is gained thereby for the comprehension of the context? The latter question has to be repeated with regard to פתח תקרה, an uncommon and stilted expression ; and though 'answering' or 'responding' (עֲנִיתָה) in l. 3 may with some slight plausibility be connected with the 'answering' or 'responding' in vv. 23 f., yet who will say that this is probable? The 'authorised' translators certainly did more justice to the exigencies of the context when they represented Yahweh's spouse as 'singing' in acknowledgment of the gift of the vineyards.

Let us now endeavour to grapple with these difficulties. The first problem has been solved, as they think, by Oettli and Marti, who correct מִשֶׁם into וְשִׁמְתִּי as the first word of *l.* 2 (followed by אֶת־), remarking that, as the text now stands, נְהָרִי has to be understood in *l.* 2 in a new sense. The conjectured reading, however, has the disadvantages of 'leaving the clause preceding too indefinite, and spoiling the tetrameter of both clauses' (Harper). Evidently we must look deeper, and utilise the experience gained elsewhere. May not שֶׁם here be a popular mutilated form of a regional name, just as יֵם sometimes is of יַמֶּן (see on Hos. xi. 10), and as this very word שֶׁם is of שִׁמְן¹ (= שִׁמְעֵאל) in vi. 7, 10, x. 9, xiii. 8, and in the familiar 'Shem, Ham, Japheth'? If so, מִשֶׁם may with much probability be equivalent to מִשִּׁמְעֵאל, as in Isa. lii. 11.² But were there really vineyards in N. Arabia? The question does not arise now for the first time. There is probably sufficient evidence to justify an affirmative answer. For instance, the Israelite worshippers in N. Arabian sanctuaries are said, in the correct text of Amos ii. 8, to have drunk 'wine of the Ḥamlites' (*i.e.* of the Yerahme'elites), and we cannot do justice to Ps. civ. 15 unless we recognise that in the age of the psalmist there were vines in the land of Yerahme'el or Ishmael.³ The vineyards were those of which Israel, according to *vv.* 11, 14, had been deprived by some devastating hand. They were apparently in the Negeb, and from this once devastated region Yahweh would 'give' or 'regrant' them to his reconciled people.

But what of the valley, or mountain-plain, of Akor? Is it the same as the valley of Akor in Josh. vii. 24, 26? and is not this valley traditionally placed near Jericho and Ai? Well, wherever the Akor mentioned in Joshua may have been, the mountain-plain here intended is an Asshurite or

¹ *T. and B.* p. 117.

² מִשֶׁם in Isa. *l.c.* has no sense. 'From Ishmael' is contrary to the common view of the reference of 2 Isaiah; it implies that the captivity spoken of was in some distant part of N. Arabia. I cannot help this. In the parallel passage (xlvi. 20) the phrases used are 'from Babel' and 'from Kasdim,' but both Babel and Kasdim (or, rather, Kasram) can be N. Arabian names, as is shown in *D. and F.* pp. 57 *ff.*, 62-64.

³ See *T. and B.* pp. 453 *f.*

Yerahme'elite locality (indeed ענר may come from אחר = אשחר) in the southern border-land. The 'supplementer' clearly saw that Hosea's thoughts had been concentrated on that region, and as in the book of Amos he made his supplementing work harmonise with the original prophecy. That once desolated district was to be a 'door' (פתח) into the recovered territory. And now are we not in a position to solve the problem of פ' תקוה, 'a door of hope'? In 2 K. xxii. 14 Huldah the prophetess is called 'the wife of Shallum, ben Tikvah,' where, as I have pointed out elsewhere,¹ תקוה is a corruption of תקוע, which in turn has probably developed out of יקחאל, originally (as one may reasonably assume) a district-name.² Probably the Tekoa meant is that of which the prophet Amos was a native, and which, as we have seen, was in Rekem, *i.e.* in the southern region called more properly Yarham or Yerahme'el. There is, however, an alternative correction, if the critic chance to like it better. ⚙ renders διανοῖξαι σύνεσιν αὐτῆς, underneath which it is easy to recognise לפתח שכל, where שכל (as in that much misunderstood passage, Ezra viii. 16-18)³ must be a misunderstanding of the regional name אשכל.

Let us pass on to the third difficulty, וְעִנְתָּהּ שָׁמָּה. Various explanations have been offered, and one plausible emendation. The latter, וְעִלְתָּה, is due to Frants Buhl, but surely it is a very poor thing to say that Israel 'shall go up thither as it went up' before. It has not been noticed, but is nevertheless the clue to the textual problem, that שמה represents שמע, *i.e.* ישמעאל; a similar view has already been proposed for שם in *l.* 1. It now becomes natural to point וְעִנְתָּה, and the problem is solved, though, for completeness' sake, it may be added that מצרים, as probably elsewhere in Hosea, and with one exception in Amos, should be read Mišrim. The whole verse will now read thus:

And I will give to her her vineyards from Ishmael,
And the valley of Akor for a door of Ashkal,
And she shall humble Ishmael, as in the days of her youth,
And as in the day she came up from the land of Mišrim.

¹ *D. and F.* p. 17.

² *Ibid.* p. xxxiii. (n. 3).

³ The improbability of 'men (a man) of understanding' is evident.

CHAPTER III

In chap. iii. we return to the narrative style; is it a continuation of chap. i. that we have before us? By way of answer let us contrast the two narratives. In the first, great stress is laid on the facts themselves; in the second, the emphasis chiefly rests on the interpretation of one of the asserted facts, viz. the isolation of Hosea's guilty wife. This seems to me decisive; Hosea's so-called second wife is no real wife at all, but a mere allegorical figure, and chap. iii. is not a continuation of chap. i. It may, however, in its original form, be pre-exilic.

It is commonly supposed that no statement is given of the origin of the supposed second wife. That, however, is a mistake. A statement of her origin underlies the words *אשה אהבת רע*. That this phrase is very singular and suspicious needs no showing; the variations of the critics, catalogued by Harper, are eloquent. Considering the necessity of clearness in such a narrative, and of a frank declaration of the woman's origin, we may well examine the phrase somewhat more closely. The points do not concern us; what we have to consider is the consonants of the text proper. Now it so happens (see on iv. 18) that the letter-group *אהב* again and again covers *אהאב*,¹ which is a regional name compounded of *אח* = *אחר* = *אֲשְׁחֹר* and *אב* = *אבר* = *ערב*, and, therefore, means *Ashḥur-Arāb* (= Arabian Ashḥur). This accounts for *אהב* in *אהבת*. After *ב* a second *ב* may be reasonably taken to have fallen out, which has, therefore, to be restored and joined to *ת*, thus producing *בת*, while *רע* should be read *ער*, i.e. *ערב* (cp. *ברע*, Gen. xiv. 2, from *בן-ער*). *אשה*, of course, should be *אשת*. The sense produced is, 'Go again, love a woman of Arabian Ashḥur (*gloss*, a native of Arabia), and an adulteress.' 'Love' is said rather than 'take to thee,' because the writer wishes to emphasise the unrequited love of Yahweh for the faithless *benê Israel* (in i. 2 it is *the land* which is faithless). 'Again' is meant to imply that Hosea contracted a second marriage; indeed, in the next verse the prophet is represented as buying the

¹ *T. and B.* p. 63 (n. 4).

woman, *i.e.* as paying the usual *mōhar*, or purchase-money, for the bride (Gen. xxxiv. 12; Ex. xxii. 16; 1 S. xviii. 25). The bad faith of the *benê Israel* showed itself, as the text says, in their turning to other gods, and giving their love to raisin-cakes. The other deities, according to the recent researches with which the name of the present writer is identified, are *Yerahme'el* (or *Asshur*, or *Ishmael*) and *Ashtart*, and as *Ashtart*, by her graciousness, was specially popular, and cakes called *kawwānīm*¹ played an important part in her cult (Jer. vii. 18, xlv. 19), it is not impossible to defend the reading עֲנָבִים אֲשִׁישִׁי, 'lovers of raisin-cakes,' which may, perhaps, pass as an explanatory substitute for כֹּנָנִים. Nevertheless, though not absolutely impossible, the reading cannot be called probable, first because עֲנָבִים is superfluous—אֲשִׁישִׁים says enough; and, next, because raisin-cakes, even those of the ritual, cannot have been of primary importance, so as to justify their being mentioned instead of the names of the deities (or the name of the leading deity) other than *Yahweh* to whom the *Israelites* had 'turned.' What, then, is the divine name, or what are the divine names underlying those two words? Considering how frequently שֵׁשׁ, שָׁשׁ, שֹׁשׁ, שִׁשׁ, in proper names, have come (through the transforming power of popular speech) from יִשְׁמַעֲאֵל, we may safely trace אֲשִׁישִׁי to that origin, in which case עֲנָבִים may have come from עֲנָנִים (ש'), or from some divine name or title with which 'Ishmael' was compounded² (שִׁמְעֵאֵל). The whole verse thus becomes: 'And *Yahweh* said to me, Go again, love a woman of Arabian *Ashhur* (*gloss*, a native of Arabia), and an adulteress, according to the love of *Yahweh* for the *bēne Israel*, who turn to other gods (*gloss*, to *Ishmael* of the *Šib'onites*).'

Then comes the account of the purchase-money. 'So I bought her for me,' says the writer according to the MT., 'for fifteen shekels, and a *homer* of barley, and a *lethek* of barley.' The latter part of this, however, is liable to suspicion. We remark (1) that the preposition of price is not prefixed either to 'homer' or to 'lethek'; (2) that the repetition of 'barley' seems unjustified; (3) that the word 'lethek,' so far as we know, was not used by the O.T.

¹ *T. and B.* pp. 273, 288.

² *Ibid.* p. 56.

writers ; and (4) that **Ⲫ** presupposes, not **לְתֶךְ שַׁעֲרִים**, but **יִין נְבֵל** (*νεβελ οἶνου*). We must therefore scrutinise both texts (the traditional Heb., and that rendered by **Ⲫ**), with the view of finding the texts out of which they respectively grew. And considering the abundant tokens of a N. Arabian atmosphere both in Amos and in Hosea, we may have good hope of success, provided that we have no counteracting invincible prejudice against the names suggested by this evidence. Certainly no objection can be based on the older text-critical methods to tracing (a) the **חַמְר** of MT., like the **חַמְרָא** of Gen. xxxiii. 19, to **יֶרֶחַם** (Yarḥam), (b) **שַׁעֲרִים**¹ to **אַשְׁרִים** ; and (c) **לְתֶךְ** to **תְּבֵל** = **אִתְּבַעַל** (*i.e.* Ishmael). Then with regard to the text which must be held to underlie that rendered by **Ⲫ**'s *καὶ γομορ κριθῶν καὶ νεβελ οἶνου*, whatever doubts may exist with some² as to the origin of *γομορ* and *νεβελ*, there can be none as to that of **יִין** (see on iv. 11), which of course is a corruption of **יֶקֶן**. This is sufficient proof that *γομορ* and *νεβελ* also represent N. Arabian regional names.

To sum up. All that follows **כֶּסֶף** in *v.* 2 is a gloss on that word, explaining that the fifteen shekels were measured by the Yarḥamite or Asshurite mercantile standard. In illustration of this I may venture to refer to *T. and B.* p. 316 (on Gen. xx. 16) and *ibid.* p. 339 (on Gen. xxiii. 9). The phrase 'silver of Yerahme'el' is as well attested as the phrases 'bow of Yerahme'el' 'chariot of Ishmael,' and 'style of Ishmael.'

We proceed to *v.* 3, and learn how the husband commanded the faithless wife to remain in isolation,³ alike from himself and from every other man, 'many days,' *i.e.* for an indefinite period. Verse 4 gives the application. The *benê* Israel shall be cut off from ritual communion with 'other gods'; they, on their side, have rejected Yahweh, and

¹ *D. and F.* pp. 26 f. ; *Crit. Bib.* p. 469 (the 'barley cake' of Judg. vii. 13).

² I have no doubt myself that *γομορ* and *νεβελ* have the same origin. The key to the former is Regem in Regem-Melek (*Zech.* vii. 2), and to the latter Gur-Ba'al (*2 Chr.* xxvi. 7). This implies that *νεβελ* is miswritten for *γεβελ*. Evidently there were two corrupt forms of **יֶבֶל**, viz. **יֶרֶבֶל** and **יֶבֶל**.

³ On iii. 2, see Marti.

Yahweh, on his, shall not only reject them, but cut them off 'many days' from the sacred objects and rites in which they have taken such delight. And not only this, but, if the text is correct, they shall have no king and no prince. But is the text correct? That depends on the genuineness of *v.* 5,—genuineness, of course, with reference, not to Hosea, but to the original supplementer. Now, that *v.* 5 is a later interpolation seems to me indubitable; indeed, otherwise *v.* 3 would have closed with the words, 'and afterwards I sent for her, and she returned to me,' or the like.¹ Moreover, *v.* 5 contains a clear expression of the expectation of the Messianic king, and though that expectation most likely existed among the people before the exile, it cannot be shown to have been adopted so early by the higher prophets and their disciples. It is not probable, therefore, that the pre-exilic disciple of those prophets, to whom chap. iii. (apart from its interpolations) is due, made mention of the Messianic king; consequently the words *אין מלך ואין שר*, which surely have a Messianic or semi-Messianic reference, must have been inserted by the interpolator of *v.* 5.

But I have not said all that is necessary either about *v.* 4 or about *v.* 5, and the reader will pardon me if, after all that has been written on the Messianic hope, I have still something which is more or less original to remark. First, with regard to *אין מלך ואין שר*, 'without king and without prince.' I have called this a Messianic or semi-Messianic reference. I mean by this that the king of Israel was, by the theory of the old oriental mythology, an adopted son of God, and a qualified representative of the divine king of Paradise.² As each king of Israel arose there was a constantly renewed hope that the 'day of Yahweh' might dawn, and that after the destruction of Yahweh's and of Israel's enemies—the foes of light and order—Paradise, with the Son of God for its king, might be restored. The Israelites in exile were not only without the supreme blessing of Paradise and the royal Son of God (or, say at once, the Messiah), but had not even that poor royalty,

¹ It may be remarked that the writer and interpolator of chap. iii. of course regarded chap. i. as an allegory.

² See Ezek. xxviii. 11-19, and cp. *T. and B.* pp. 14, 71.

unapproved by the true Yahweh (Hos. viii. 4), which might be regarded as a reflexion of the true one (or, say at once, semi-Messianic).

The 'seeking' of Yahweh in the latter days is quite in the style of the later writers (see *e.g.* Jer. l. 4). Here, however, it is not only 'Yahweh their God,' but 'David their king' who will be sought. This, of course, does not mean the prince of the Davidic line who will at that time have a right to the reunited kingdom of Israel and Judah, but—the supernatural being called the Messiah; as is well known, 'David' has the same meaning in Ezek. xxxiv. 23 *f.*, xxxvii. 24. And if we ask how the Messiah came to be called דוד or בן דוד, the most probable answer is that, as in other cases (notably those of מלך יהודה and יהודה צבאות), the religious authorities manipulated a name which was displeasing to Yahwistic orthodoxy.¹ The supernatural being referred to was originally called Dōd or ben-Dōd, but as Dōd was originally a title of Yerahme'el, דוד, in connexion with the Messiah, had its pronunciation changed, and became דָּד, or afterwards דָּוִד. Whether the interpolator of *v.* 5 knew the original form of the name of the Messiah is of course very doubtful. He may have had some other way of explaining דָּוִד, which, however, it is beyond our present scope to surmise.

In iii. 5 *b* it is added that the Israelites shall 'come tremblingly to Yahweh and to his goodness (*i.e.* blessings).' This refers to the paradisaical felicity of restored Israel in the coming age. The Messiah was the king of Paradise, or paradisaically transformed Canaan, but he was appointed by Yahweh. From Him, and not from any inferior divine being, came the good things which would be regenerate Israel's boast (cp. Isa. iv. 2).

RESUMPTION OF PROPHETIC DISCOURSE

Chapter iv. relates to the great controversy between Israel and its God, but we cannot say either that it is a single discourse, or that the details of the accusation are always clear. There is much corruption, and in *vv.* 1-8

¹ See *T. and B.* pp. 49, 60.

Marti's corrections deserve special praise, though he might perhaps have approached still nearer to the truth. The first great success, however, has probably been achieved by Duhm; it relates to *v.* 4 *b*, and is recognised by Marti. The text here has *וְעַמְךָ כַּמְרִיבֵי כֹהֵן*, 'in fact, thy people is as those who strive with a priest.' This is plainly wrong, and in Duhm's skilful hands becomes *וְעַם כְּכֹהֵן וְנָבִיא כְּעָהֶן*, 'and the people is like the pope, and the prophet like the priest' (cp. *v.* 9 *a*), *i.e.* all classes are alike guilty. *כְּמָרָר*, it is true, does not occur elsewhere, but it may be presumed to be the singular of *כְּמָרָרִים*, which, as I hope I have shown, is the term for the imported N. Arabian priests, of which, as Isaiah says (ii. 6), the people of Israel were full.¹ Verse 4, as Marti has seen, should connect with *v.* 2. Verse 3 is a later insertion; *vv.* 5 and 6 *a* are also a non-Hosean supplement. We cannot, however, refrain here from touching on textual criticism. As Marti has pointed out, *אִמְךָ* (*v.* 5, end) is untranslatable in this context, and therefore corrupt. Beyond this I cannot go with the critic. Surely *אִמְךָ* has come from *אִמְךָ*, *i.e.* *אִמְךָ*. Between *וְדַמִּיתִי* and *אִמְךָ* something must have fallen out, and the missing word, we can hardly doubt, is *אִמְךָ* underlying the corrupt *נִדְמוֹ*,² which, as the text now wrongly stands, opens *v.* 6. *עַמִּי*, which now follows *נִדְמוֹ* may represent a dittographed *אִמְךָ*, while *מִבְּלִי דַעַת*, 'unawares,' is a redactional patch. The passage, therefore, which now runs, 'and I will destroy thy mother. My people are destroyed unawares,' becomes, when corrected and purified, 'and I will destroy the palaces³ of Ephraim,' and the whole supplement (*vv.* 5, 6 *a*) is meant to explain *v.* 4 *b*, which means that, the corruption being universal, no class shall be exempt from punishment.

But the most troublesome part begins at *v.* 10, as Harper's commentary very well shows. I will not spend much time on plainly inadequate proposals, but endeavour to improve upon them. On *v.* 10 Prof. Harper remarks that *עֹבֵר לְשֹׁמֵר* 'is awkward, and might be improved by omitting *לְשֹׁמֵר*.' The awkwardness is undeniable, but how,

¹ See note, and *D. and F.* pp. 23, 157.

² Surely *נִדְמוֹ*, so soon after *דַּמִּיתִי*, can hardly be accepted as genuine.

³ An *'armon* is a strong, well-built, high house in the new style.

one asks, did 'לש' penetrate into the text? Wellhausen can only suggest reading לשמר. But the troublesome student has still a question to ask, How did לש come to be dropped out? For my part, I think with Harper that לשמר should be omitted, but only after this corrupt reading has been traced to its origin. Probably it has developed out of שמל[ר], i.e. ישמעאל, which is a gloss on 'צבער', close by, according to the true text of v. 11. When שמל had been miswritten לשם, it was natural for the next scribe to attach ר, thus producing לשמר.

So, then, Israel's impending punishment is put upon the simple ground that 'they have forsaken Yahweh.' But forsaking one god implies 'choosing' or 'seeking' another or others. It is to be expected that that other, or those others, should find mention in v. 11. Instead of this the present text gives us what Harper calls 'one of the numerous "wise saws" with which Hosea was familiar;' his rendering is, 'Harlotry, wine, and new wine take away the brain.' Well, the prophets do now and then moralise, but not so trivially as this, and there are other objections to Hosea's authorship of v. 11 which are mentioned by Nowack. Evidently the first part of v. 11 is corrupt. That harlotry and drunkenness destroy the understanding was not what most needed to be preached, and surely not what Hosea did preach. The burden of his preaching was, Give up those N. Arabian deities who have supplanted or been wrongly linked with Yahweh, and whose cult undermines the moral traditions. So, then, underneath זנות יין ותרשום must lie the names of N. Arabian deities worshipped by the Israelites, such as Yerahme'el, Asshur, Ashtart, or at any rate either forms resembling these, or popular titles of those deities. Now, in our study of Am. v. 26 we came to the conclusion that סנות (סנת) covers over שנת, i.e. אשכולת, 'Ashkalitess'; on this analogy זנות (both here and in vi. 10) may be most easily traced to צבענית, 'Sib'onitess' (= Ishmaelitess).¹ We may compare מולות (2 K. xxiii. 5) and תמון (Ezek. viii. 14) which also ultimately come from ישמעאלית; also צאן (1 S. xvi. 11, etc.; see *Crit. Bib.*), and

¹ Both 'Ashkalitess' and 'Sib'onitess' are titles of Ashtart, *T. and B.* p. 19 (n. 2).

probably צען (Num. xiii. 22), and צוּן (Hos. v. 11), all from יִשְׁמַעְעָל = שַׁמְעוֹן, a collateral form of שַׁמְעוֹן.¹ Cp. also on i. 2.

There are, however, two important illustrative passages which I have not yet mentioned, viz. Jer. iii. 9 and v. 7. The former is interesting in its entirety, and affects not only Hos. iv. 11, which is immediately before us, but v. 12. It is, however, the opening words וְהָיָה מִקֵּל זִנוּתָהּ which specially claim consideration. The Auth. Vers. renders, 'And it came to pass through the lightness (*marg.*, fame) of her whoredom.' 'Lightness,' however, is an imaginary sense for קֵל, and even if it were not so, is unsatisfactory in the context; and almost equally so is the rendering 'fame,' 'rumour.' Presently, however, we shall see (on v. 12) that מִקֵּל has arisen out of some popular corruption of the divine name יְרַחֲמֵאל, 'Yerahme'el,' so that it becomes natural to correct וְזִנוּתָהּ into הִזְנוּתָהּ, *i.e.* הַצְבַּעֲנִית (vi. 13), 'the Šib'onite (goddess).' 'Yerahme'el' is no doubt an early correction (for which we cannot be too grateful) of הָאֶבֶן, apparently 'the stone,' and 'the Šib'onite (goddess)' of הָעֵץ, apparently 'the stock,' at the end of the verse. (See below.) The prefixed word וְהָיָה probably comes from a dittographed הָיָה. The passage, which is historically important, primarily for the religion of Judah, but by inference for that of Israel, should therefore run thus,—'and she (Judah) defiled the land, and committed adultery with Yerahme'el and with the Šib'onite.'

The latter passage (Jer. v. 7) is also highly illustrative. For the first part of it sufficient help is given by the commentators, but the second part still requires explanation, and instead of 'assembled themselves by troops in the harlots' houses' (*Auth. Vers.*) we should render 'made cuttings in their flesh in a harlot's house,' or rather 'in the house of the Šib'onitess.' זִנוּהָ ('harlot'), it may be remarked again,² is a corruption, probably not accidental, of צַעֲנָה = צַבַּעֲנָה,³ 'the Šib'onite (goddess),' *i.e.* Ashtart.

We now return to Hos. iv. 11, and consider the second of the corrupted words,—יֵין (wine!) This, certainly, comes

¹ *T. and B.* p. 19 (n. 1), and see below, on Hos. v. 11.

² See *D. and F.* p. 33 (n. 1); *T. and B.* p. 19 (n. 1).

³ See below, p. 248.

from ימן = יין¹ (as in iii. 2 **ס**, Isa. xxviii. 1; Hab. ii. 5), *i.e.* either Yerahme'el or Ishmael. And the third word, תירוש, almost as certainly, comes from אשתר, 'Ashtar,' the name of a N. Arabian god overshadowed by Yerahme'el;² for an analogy cp. ראשית, Am. vi. 1. יקח-לב is happily quite right, so that the sense of v. 11, as corrected, will be, 'The Šib'onitess, Yaman, and Ashtar (a divine triad), take away the understanding.' This harmonises with the gloss in v. 14 *b*; both passages may have been the marginal comment of the same redactor.

At v. 12 a new section begins; the abominations of the popular cult are pretty clearly mentioned, though the clearness is somewhat impaired by corruption of the text. Wellhausen, as it appears to me, has been too unsuspicious. According to him, in v. 12 *a*, the prophet satirises the stupidity of people in seeking oracles from 'a stock' and 'a staff.' It is not, however, stupidity that he refers to, but an elemental passion which has not been restrained by obedience to the law of Yahweh. Nor does the true text speak of 'wood' and 'a staff'—terms which seem to have puzzled the commentators³—but expressly mentions the names of N. Arabian deities. Evidently there is textual corruption owing to the unacquaintance of the scribes with the precise nature of the cults practised by the early Israelites. The later scribes, too, had no comprehension of the corrupt forms of the names Yerahme'el and Ishmael, caught by their predecessors from the lips of the people, such as צבעון for ירמאל and רמקל for ישמעאל. The frequent occurrence of the former word in the text which underlies the present must have struck the student; in Am. ix. 1 (see note) we find a trace of another form צמעון, and in Num. xiii. 22, Hos. v. 11,⁴ of yet another צעון or צוען. רמקל we do not appear to find, but כרמל is familiar, and מקל, which comes from רמקל, occurs in Jer. iii. 9 (see p. 235), and ד מקל, *i.e.* רמקל, in Ezek. xxxix. 9.

It is now easy to give a really critical explanation both

¹ *T. and B.* p. 161.

² *Ibid.* p. 27.

³ Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*⁽²⁾, p. 196), finds a reference to the asherah, but also compares Aaron's rod. Harper mentions other views.

⁴ See below, p. 242.

of בעצור and of מקלו. The former does not mean 'by (of) its stock,' nor does the latter mean 'its staff.' בעצור has come from בצבעור, *i.e.* בצבעון and מקלו from מקל. As soon as the corrupt בעצור was supposed to mean 'by (of) its stock,' it was natural that ו should be attached to the corrupt word מקל in the parallel line, with the resulting sense 'its staff.' If any doubt is possible, let reference be made once more to Jer. iii. 9, where, just as [ה]אבן has come from אהבן = ירחמאל, so [ה]עץ has come from צען = צבעון = ישמעאל. The sense which the indignant prophet wished to express is therefore,

My people ask counsel of Sib'on,
And Rakmal gives oracles to them.

It is unnecessary at this time of day to explain either *v.* 13 or *v.* 14 *a*, but on the usage of sacred prostitution I may perhaps refer to *D. and F.* p. 120.¹ Verse 14 *b*, however, certainly requires renewed examination. The rendering of Auth. Vers. is, 'therefore the people that doth not understand shall fall.' But Hosea cannot surely have uttered this trivial sentence any more than he can have uttered the saying ascribed to him in the traditional text of *v.* 11. And how poorly does this sentiment harmonise with the context! Even Wellhausen's ingenuity cannot alter this. He thinks that the phrase 'the unintelligent people' refers to 'the young women,' or perhaps 'the young folk in general.' A comparison of Jer. iv. 22, *v.* 21, however, is adverse to this explanation. Not the young folk only, but the whole people must be intended. But how miserable a conclusion *v.* 14 *b* is to the preceding declaration, need hardly be said.

Shall we, then, forthwith pronounce sentence against the passage, and transfer it from Hosea to a redactor? Let us rather wait a moment until the whole case is before us. Critics have been far too hasty in accepting the word ילבט. לבט forms no part of the prophetic vocabulary, and occurs only twice elsewhere in the whole of the O.T. (in Prov.). Even if *v.* 14 *b* be a gloss, ילבט must be corrupt, and in

¹ See also above, pp. 173, 219, and cp. S. A. Cook, *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi*, pp. 149 *f*.

correcting it we ought to take account of the equally suspicious word יתבולל, vii. 8. Comparing what is said elsewhere on that word, it will, I think, be difficult not to hold that ילבט comes from יתבל, i.e. ישמעאל. Verse 14 *b* should therefore be rendered, 'An unintelligent people is Ishmael.' So a late supplementer might easily write, but not Hosea, for the words imply a denial that the offending people was Israel.

The rest of the chapter is much more difficult and full of evidences of corruption. Verse 15 *a*, for instance, has received (if Harper's conspectus may be accepted) no satisfactory explanation, simply because critics have been blind to the only effectual theory. As soon, however, as we are able to recognise that the atmosphere elsewhere in Hosea is N. Arabian, the difficulties of v. 15 *a* vanish into thin air. I do not, of course, mean that experience of the old critical methods can be dispensed with by the new criticism, but that the wilfulness which is almost inseparable from criticism of the old type in the treatment of passages like the present needs to be restrained by some historical theory, and that the historical theory which is called for in the study of the pre-exilic prophecies is certainly the N. Arabian. With regard, however, to v. 15 *a* it is not any historical theory but the Septuagint which supplies us with the first suggestion, μετὰ πόρνης, i.e. עם זונה. No doubt the translator erred in the vocalisation of his text, and also in attaching these words to v. 14 *b* instead of v. 15 *a*. But in the light of the N. Arabian theory it is easy for us to put the correct vowels, nor can we doubt that אִם-זֹנֶה אַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל has come from אִם זֹנָה אַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל, 'an adulterous people art thou, O Israel.' This is, of course, the remark of a scribe, similar to that in v. 14 *b*, except that this writer regards Israel as bearing the full guilt of its transgressions. The other view, however, is reiterated directly. For the next phrase אִל־יֹאשֶׁם certainly comes from יִשְׁמַעְאֵל, and the closing word יְהוּדָה from יְרֹחַ (see on Amos vi. 14), i.e. יִרְחֵמָאֵל; 'Ishmael' and 'Yerahme'el' are obviously glossatorial corrections of יִשְׂרָאֵל.

These glosses or comments on Hosea's words are of considerable historical significance. They show what intense

feelings were aroused even in a later generation by the scathing censures of the prophets. And now as to the rest of *v.* 15. There is no obvious connexion, and the passage may plausibly be assigned to a redactor. It reminds us of *Am.* v. 5 *a* (see note), except that here Beth-aven or rather Beth-on¹ takes the place of Beth-el,² and that Beer-sheba, to which there is an apparent allusion in 'nor swear ye,' is not expressly mentioned. The prohibition of oaths by the life of Yahweh is highly noteworthy. I have been led myself to doubt the accuracy of the text. For was not Yahweh, to prophets like Hosea, Israel's true God (*cp.* xi. 1), by whom men were to swear (*Jer.* iv. 2 ; *Dt.* vi. 13, x. 20)? And if the sanctuary of Beer-sheba is that referred to in the last stichus of *v.* 15, have we not a right to harmonise the passage with *Am.* viii. 11, according to which (see note), the god-name which entered into the special oaths of Beer-sheba was, not Yahweh, but Hadrak = Hādād-Rekem? Surely, then, יְהוָה must be miswritten for 'יְהוָה = ירחם, and the oath which was prohibited was most probably 'as Yarham lives.' There is a similar doubt whether לִיהוָה in *Zeph.* i. 5 should not rather be 'לִירַח = 'to Yarham.'

Verse 16 need not detain us here. To explain it would require an acquaintance with secrets of the redactor at which I do not venture to guess. The text, however, is quite translatable. We cannot say this of *v.* 17, the latter part of which is specially obscure. Nor can one, I fear, venture to say that the leading idea of the entire distich is plain. **§** gives, μέτοχος εἰδώλων Εφραιμ ἔθηκεν ἑαυτῷ σκάνδαλα, *i.e.* חֶבֶר עֲצָבִים אִם הָיָה לוֹ מְנַשֵּׁל. An attack on idolatry, however, is unlikely, and it is possible that ἡρέτισεν χαναναίους, with which **§** apparently opens *v.* 18, is really an alternative to μέτ. εἰδώλων, and is critically suggestive, by which I mean that עֲצָבִים (εἰδώλων) is very probably a corruption of an ethnic corresponding to כְּנַעֲנִים, *viz.* צִבְעִים, 'Seboites' (see below). To this I may add that **§**'s reading in *v.* 17 *b* is certainly right; the 'stumbling-

¹ See on *v.* 8, xii. 4 *b*, and *cp.* on *Am.* i. 4 *b*, and *T. and B.* pp. 420, 471.

² Possibly there were two different places, near together (*cp. Crit. Bib.* on *Josh.* vii. 2).

blocks' are the usages of the Šeboite cultus. Thus we get:

Ephraim is a partner of Šeboites (*gloss*, Canaanites),
He has set before himself stumbling-blocks.

As to *v.* 18, it may, I think, be confidently stated that two great problems can be solved. First, אֲהָבִים. This is a corruption of אֲהָאָבִים, Ah'abites. In a large group of passages (Hos. iii. 1, iv. 18, viii. 13, ix. 10, xi. 4, xii. 8; Mic. vi. 16; Jer. xxii. 15,¹ G^b , Zech. xiii. 6) we find the compound regional designation אֲהָאָב, made up of אָה = אַחַר = אֲשֶׁחַר and אָב = אֲבִיר = עֶרֶב. (Very probably the royal name Ah'ab has the same origin.)² Granting this, it is reasonable to correct the two preceding words דוֹנָה דוֹנוֹ into יוֹבָחַ וְיָבָחַ (cp. *v.* 19 *b*). Next comes the problem of סָר סָבָאָם. This, too, readily yields up its secret, now that the analogous problem of אֲהָבִים has been satisfactorily solved. סָר סָבָאָם (סָר from סָב) has come from a regional or ethnic name, probably צַבְעִים, which is a shortened form of צַבְעוֹנִים,—the guilty connexion of Israel with the Šib'onites is referred to elsewhere.³ The second צַבְעִים may be either a correction of עֲצָרִים (*v.* 17, MT. and G) or an explanatory gloss on אֲהָאָבִים, which is not far off in the true text. קָלֶן מִגְנִיָּה is unintelligible; it can hardly belong to *v.* 18, the genuine text of which (cp. p. 263, top) runs simply:

'They offer sacrifices of the Ah'abites.'

Verse 19 also baffles criticism. But at any rate Harper and others are right in accepting G 's reading 'altars' in *b*.

The next sections, *v.* 1-9 and 10-14—denunciations of the priests and the princes—give less trouble, though they are not without their problems. Where, for instance, are Mizpah and Tabor? Most will at once answer, In the north; and certainly this is possible, supposing that *v.* 2 contains a reference to the Israelite territory in the southern border-land. But is it not better to suppose a reference to a Mizpah in the border-land, and to correct 'Tabor' into some

¹ *D. and F.* p. 92.

² *T. and B.* p. 63 (n. 4).

³ See Isa. lvii. 17, 'For the guilt of Šib'on (צַבְעִין should be צַבְעִין), I was wroth and smote him.'

form of a place-name which we know to have existed in that region,¹ viz. Pethor, a place noted for its soothsaying, and therefore suitable here? In any case, *v.* 2 *a* should run, not (as in MT.) וְשָׁחַתָּה שְׁטִים הַעֲמִיקוּ, but וְשָׁחַתָּה הָאֲשְׁתָּרִים ה', 'and the pit of the Ashtarites have they made deep.'² One does not need to ask what the 'snare' and the 'net' and the 'pit' were. They were the attractive, sensuous, immoral practices connected with the Yerahme'elite and Canaanite cultus, especially that of Ashtart. The Ashtarites doubtless obtained their name from residing near a great centre of that cultus.³ The case of Israel and Ephraim, says Hosea, is desperate; 'there is no (read אֵין for אֲנִי) correction for them.' Ephraim, sometimes in Hosea, as in Isaiah, may mean the Israelite territory in the N. Arabian border-land. See on Isa. ix. 8.

Verse 5 seemingly introduces Judah as the companion of Israel in sin and in punishment; but *v.* 5 *c* is a later insertion (see Marti). It is Israel whose pride is depicted; Israel who goes about, as it were, with flocks and herds to seek Yahweh, as if these could make up for total ignorance of the requirements of Yahweh and of the nature of true worship (*vi.* 6). Verse 7 *b* announces the consequent punishment, but the text is obscure; Prof. G. A. Smith, followed by Harper, renders, 'Now may a month (חֹדֶשׁ) devour them with their portions.' ⚡ however seems not to have read חֹדֶשׁ but חֲסִיל (*ἐπισσίβη*), which at one time attracted me, and is certainly better than חֹדֶשׁ. But how are we to account for the latter reading? The truth is that both readings cover over *equivalent ethnics*, i.e. חֹדֶשׁ = חֹרֶשׁ = אֲשַׁחֵר, and חֲסִיל = חֲשַׁנֶּל = אֲשַׁחֵל.⁴ We require something definite; the indefinite מִשְׁחִית for חֹדֶשׁ (Oort, Marti, Harper) is therefore self-condemned, nor will it account for either of the readings.

¹ See *T. and B.* pp. 40 (n. 3), 179, 389 *f.* That 'Pethor' is not the original form of the name, I have myself pointed out (see Balaam section).

² שָׁחַת ה' is Wellhausen's. He thinks that a place-name follows, viz. Shittim, which is connected in tradition with 'the apostasy to Baal-peor,' but he does not enter into the origin of שְׁטִים, which may come from אֲשַׁחֵרִים, or, perhaps better, from אֲשַׁחֵרִים שְׁפָתִים.

³ Cp. *D. and F.* pp. 119, 143 *ff.*

⁴ *T. and B.* p. 315; *D. and F.* p. 93.

Verse 8 is at any rate definite enough, and though in a different poetic form, it certainly connects with *v.* 7 *b*. For it is clearly Asshur whose invasion is here described, precisely as in the little poem preserved in Isa. x. 27 (end)–32, and in Jer. iv. 5, vi. 1.¹ If further evidence be required, it lies under our very eyes. For what is it that is to be ‘cried’ at Beth-On?² The traditional text says *אחריך בנימין*, ‘behind thee, O Benjamin.’ This, however, gives no distinct sense, and *אחר* and *אחרי* have frequently sprung from *אשחור*, which is just what we have reason to expect here. It is, in fact, the arrival of the most dreaded Arabian foe which Hosea wishes his audience to realise, and to prevent any mistake an early scribe inserted the gloss *אשחור בימין*, ‘Ashhur in Yamin.’ ‘Benjamin’ is obviously a late redactor’s alteration, as in Jer. vi. 1;³ Gibeah, Ramah, and Beth-On may be names of places in Yamin.⁴ Yamin or Yaman is the N. Arabian border-land.

We pass on to *vv.* 9–13, the burden of which is that Israel’s inner weakness, joined to his political folly, have proved his ruin. Many textual observations might be made from the older point of view, but it is generally the new theory which shows how to cure the evils. For instance, the old point of view was capable of showing that ‘Judah’ should be ‘Israel’ both in *v.* 10 and in the rest of the chapter. But it is only the new one which can successfully deal with the remaining problems. Even Wellhausen has to confess that *v.* 11 *b* ‘is unintelligible; *שׁו* for *צו* produces too empty a phrase.’ But *הואיל*, like *דילל* in Isa. xiv. 12, may well represent *ירחמאל*, which would be a gloss on *צבעון* underlying *אשחור* (The link between *צבעון* and *צו* is obviously *צוען*, see on iv. 12.) The scholar who has shown most insight is Fritz Hommel (*Exp. Times*, x. 329 *f.*; cp. *Grundriss*, pp. 103, 117); but surely it is methodically wrong to introduce a moon-god mentioned nowhere in the O.T., without criticising the text. I may

¹ *D. and F.* p. 59.

² See on xii. 4 *b*.

³ *D. and F.* p. 64 (n. 1).

⁴ Possibly the Gibeah, Ramah, and Bethel of the original story of Samuel and Saul were in the border-land (see Samuel section).

add that שׁוֹן (τὼν ματαίων) represents שׁוֹן, *i.e.* רִשְׁמַעֲלֵל. Ashhur-Šib'on and A.-Ishmael are in fact equivalent.

Verse 11 will therefore run thus :

Ephraim is oppressed, crushed as to his right,
Because he journeyed to Ashhur-Šib'on (*gloss* Yerahme'el).

It is true, the second line might conceivably be read, 'because he went after (*i.e.* worshipped) Šib'on' (*i.e.* the N. Arabian god). From *v.* 13, however, we see clearly that the sending of tribute to the land of Asshur or Ashhur is meant. Consequently, in *v.* 11 as well as in *v.* 8, אֲחֻרִי must have come from אֲשַׁחֵר, and Ashhur-Šib'on must be a fuller name for the comparatively distant part of N. Arabia referred to, which the prophetic writer takes pains to distinguish from the Asshur so well known to us as Assyria.

Verse 13 is thus rendered by Harper, who, of course rightly, corrects 'Judah' into 'Israel' :

And so Ephraim saw his sickness,
And Israel his sore ;
And Ephraim went to Asshur,
And [Israel] sent to king Jareb :
But *he* cannot heal you,
Nor will he relieve you of your wound.

There are several objections which might be made to 'king Jareb.' Suffice it, however, from our present point of view, that instead of a personal name like Jareb (Yareb) we should expect the name of a region. My former suggestion,¹ which has found some favour, was that the king of Assyria was referred to, and that the true reading was מֶלֶךְ רַב, 'the great king' (= Ass. *šarru rabu*), *i.e.* the king of Assyria. Taking all the facts together, however, some, I hope, will prefer my later suggestion,² viz. that יֶרֶב, both here and in *x.* 6, comes either from יֶרֶבֶל (= Yerahme'el) or, more probably, from יֶרֶב.³ That this word (= Ass. Aribi) is often

¹ *Expositor*, Nov. 1897, p. 364 ; April 1898, p. 320. W. Max Müller independently suggested מֶלֶךְ רַב (*ZATW*, 1897, pp. 334 ff.).

² *E. Bib.*, 'Jareb'; *Crit. Bib. ad loc.* Cp. Hommel, *Aufsätze*, p. 313.

³ Cp. יֶרֶב (1 Chr. ii. 17) and יֶרֶב (v. 18), from אֲשַׁחֵר and אֲשַׁר respectively, also יֶרֶב (Isa. xix. 20) from עֶרֶב.

used for N. Arabia, or for some part of it, is certain. Line 4 of the above translation should therefore be, 'And [Israel] sent to the king of Yarba'al' (or 'of Arabia').

That Hosea should be irritated by Israelitish diplomacy was only natural. It might seem to politicians all-important to buy the favour of the king of Arabian Asshur. But to Hosea it was foolishness to imagine that this king could do anything without Yahweh's permission. The 'sickness' and the 'sore' of Israel could not be removed by any human agency, not even by alliance with the most powerful monarch of N. Arabia. For that anarchy and that social disintegration which was Israel's 'sickness' was willed by the divine guardian of morality—Yahweh, whose laws and ordinances Israel had broken. The statesmen saw only the effects; Hosea saw also the cause. To the prophet, then, the moral and political prospect of his people were equally hopeless.

This hopelessness is still the burden of Hosea's prophesying in the next section (vi. 4–vii. 7), which begins with 'What (more) can I do to thee, O Ephraim,' and ends with 'None among them calls for me.' It is strange but true that there is something which the supreme God himself as at present imagined cannot do—the moulding of the character of a people in accordance with his fundamental rules is still beyond him. Yet this failure is not due to any inactivity on Yahweh's part (Am. ii. 11). He has raised up faithful men whose care is, first, for the performance of Yahweh's will, and only in the second place for their people's happiness, to make a heroic effort to win Israel, with this one drawback that they have not been taught the art of persuasive teaching. This is what Yahweh says, according to the traditional text, in self-justification—

Therefore have I hewed [them] by the prophets,

I have slain them by the words of my mouth (vi. 5 a);

that is (as it would seem), all Yahweh's lovingkindness to Israel having failed to elicit any return save a momentary spasm of piety, he has been compelled to take more violent measures through the agency of the prophets. And this may be taken to imply the belief in the self-fulfilling

character of prophecy ; holy words uttered by a holy man are equivalent to spells.

But however true all this may be, it is doubtful whether it expresses Hosea's present meaning. From the traditional text one might think so. But one cannot get rid of an uneasy sense that 'hewed' and 'slain' are not natural words to connect with prophetic oratory. Besides this, it should be noticed that 'hewed' is destitute of an object, while 'slain' is provided with a wrong one, and—what is more important—that in iv. 5 Hosea expresses no high opinion of the prophets. It is in fact this passage which, with the context, suggests the most satisfactory correction of the distich before us. It shows not merely that the piety of the Israelites (using the word חסד, 'piety,' as in Hos. vi. 4) was impermanent and therefore unreal (vi. 4 *b*), but that Yahweh was angry with the prophets and priests for being no better than the people. Instead, therefore, of הצבתי and הרגתי let us look for verbs, not too unlike those in MT., expressing anger and its outward manifestation. Considering how often scribal errors arise from the confusion or transposition of letters, this cannot be called a rash inquiry. I believe that such verbs can be found, and, comparing Isa. liv. 9, I would suggest קצפתי and גערתי.¹

There is, however, still something to correct before all can be said to be clear. באמרי פי is no parallel to בנביאים, and the ם attached to הרגתי is a questionable appendage to גערתי. The remedy seems to me obvious. פי (פִּי) is the short for פני, which should be attached to the ם wrongly appended to הרגתי, while באמרי is miswritten for כמרי, i.e. כמרים, the term for Yerahme'elite priests (see on x. 5), and the singular of which has been restored by Duhm in iv. 4. The distich before us should therefore read thus—

Therefore have I been wroth with the prophets ;
I have uttered a menacing cry because of the priests.

How well this accords with v. 6 need hardly be pointed out. Yahweh has no delight in sacrifices and burnt

¹ גער denotes a cry, first of pain, and then of menace. The connecting link between גערתי and נערתי would be ערתי. See Cheyne, *Book of Psalms*, 1904, p. 187, where too it is suggested to correct תנער (Ps. xlii, 2) into תנער.

offerings. Prophets and priests are nothing to Hosea's God if they have rejected the true knowledge of God (iv. 6), which consists in the performance of deeds congenial to Yahweh, and in accordance with his covenant, viz. deeds of truth, or faithfulness and mutual love between man and man (iv. 1, vi. 6).

And then, at once, Hosea begins a detailed account of deeds by which priests and people have alike transgressed Yahweh's covenant (ברית, ordinance, compact). They are deeds which in their combination irretrievably condemn the people; they are, in fact, the 'unpardonable sin' (Isa. xxii. 14). If the account is not free from obscurity who can be surprised? The obscurity is at any rate to some extent removable, and our present point of view places us in a favourable position for solving some of the problems. Verse 7 is the opening passage, and who that reads the poor result of the best seventeenth century scholarship can fail to be perplexed as to its meaning. The rendering of A.V. is—

'But they, like men, have transgressed the covenant: there have they dealt treacherously against me.'

Faithful enough, but surely unintelligible. The chief problem centres in נֶאֱדָם; next to it in importance is שָׁם. The most obvious correction is בָּאֵדָם. This implies that אֵדָם is a place-name or a regional. But it is not, on the whole, probable that there was either a place or a region called Adam,¹ nor would 'Edom,' where religion is spoken of, be suitable. Underneath אֵדָם, therefore, some other regional must lie. The most natural and easy restoration is אֲרָם; it was in the southern Aram² (Hosea means to say) that the Israelites 'transgressed the covenant.' But 'in Aram' requires a parallel in the next line, and we know that שָׁם pretty frequently³ stands for שָׁמָן or יִשְׁמָן, i.e. יִשְׁמַעֲלֵל. Verse 7 should therefore run—

But as for them, in Aram have they transgressed the covenant;
[In] Ishmael they have been traitorous unto me.

¹ See *E. Bib.*, 'Adam.'

² *T. and B.* p. 179; cp. p. 63, n. 4 (on Mic. vi. 16).

³ See on v. 10, ii. 17, x. 9.

We hear next (vi. 8) of the city Gilead. Was there really such a city in any part of the Israelite territory? ¹ Or should we read 'Gilgal' (iv. 15, ix. 15, xii. 11)? Either view is possible. 'Gilead' might be the second part of a compound place-name, and there were, of course, several Gilgals. Confusion of the names was easy. The former view, however, seems to me now preferable, especially because in v. 9 (see below) there are traces of a place-name Asshur-Gilead. The other problem in v. 8 lies in מָדָם עָקְבָהּ בְּדָם, as if 'foot-printed with blood.' ² Marti considers this possible, but would prefer מְדָמִים to מָדָם, because shed blood is referred to. I must, however, confess to some scepticism. May not מָדָם be = מָרָם, and this be = מְרַעִים?

It is more important to solve the problems of v. 9, hard as they may be. I should be glad to think that, by combining old methods with new, I had at least made some progress in this. Those who have followed me at all carefully will see that my results are natural, and in some points inevitable. I am, of course, far from denying that something can be done with the old methods, and would refer to Harper's commentary, Paul Ruben's critical notes, and the article 'Gilead,' 2, in the *E. Bib.* A step forward, however, seems to be necessary. Verse 9 should probably run thus: ³

ובהיכל אשר גלעדִים	Indeed, in the temple of Asshur-Gil'adim
חברו כהנים [לפשוט]	Priests league themselves [to raid?];
דרך חצור-שכמה	In the way to Ḥaṣor-Shekem [Shakram]
כי זמה עשו	Verily they commit wickedness.

Asshur-Gil'adim, mentioned in line 1 and probably also in Amos vi. 7, may perhaps be identified with Asshur-Yarḥam (or Yerahme'el), the name of the place where was

¹ See *E. Bib.*, 'Gilead,' 2, where, however, it is not mentioned that there was very probably a southern Gilead (see on Amos i. 3, 13).

² Ὡς πατάσσουσά ὑμῶν = כָּסָם עָקְבָהּ, but the Sahidic version (Brit. Mus.) favours Bachmann's suggestion עָקְבָהּם דָּם, 'their footprints are blood.' Winstedt, *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, January 1909, p. 252.

³ Read חָבְרוּ, as Ὡς ἁρπάσαν. אִישׁ or אִשׁ is often the short for אִשּׁוּר (T. and B. p. 151). יְרַחְמִי, followed by Maḳḳef, probably covers over a place-name (חצור).

the leading sanctuary of the southern border-land.¹ And the fearful thing was that this very sanctuary had become the headquarters of criminals. Priests (of Yahweh-Yerahme'el) entered into partnership with rough 'sons of Belial' to perpetrate some gross act of wickedness, such, probably, as is mentioned (if I am not mistaken) in Mic. ii. 8, *i.e.* joining in a Yerahme'elite raid upon the Israelites in the Negeb.² What an absolute want of *hesed*, or mutual brotherly love, this revolting act betrayed! The ritual of sacrifices might be familiar to them, but Yahweh valued another kind of knowledge far more. The Yahweh whom they know is the false Yahweh.

This thought leads on to *v.* 10. The 'horrible thing' which Hosea has 'seen' is apostasy from the true Yahweh, visible in the adoption by Israelites of Yerahme'elite religious usages (*iv.* 12-14). One of the sanctuaries which present this sad sight is singled out; the real name underlies 'Beth - Israel.' Most critics³ restore 'Bethel' (*x.* 15; *Amos* iv. 4, v. 5). Probably, however, 'Beth-Ishmael' would be better; 'Israel' and 'Ishmael' are liable to confusion, and a gloss (see below) suggests that this has taken place. Verse 10 *b* continues, 'there is the harlotry of Ephraim; Israel is defiled.' But וְנֹת is not one of Hosea's words, and לְאִפְרַיִם is not idiomatic. וְ, as in *iv.* 11, has come from צַעֲנִית = צִבְעִיָּה, the 'Sib'onite goddess.' A verb such as נָצַמַד (*Num.* xxv. 3, 5; *Ps.* cvi. 28) has fallen out, and ל should be prefixed to צַב, not to אִפְרַיִם. Lastly שָׁם (see on *v.* 7) has probably come from יִשְׁמַעֵאל = יִשְׁמַעֵאל, a scribal correction of יִשְׂרָאֵל, suggesting that Hosea wrote:

I have seen a horrible thing in Beth-Ishmael;
Ephraim [is joined] to the Sib'onite one; Israel is defiled.

And now that troublesome redactor who is always wanting to make Hosea's work profitable for the Judaites, and who, in *v.* 5 *b*, interpolated the statement that 'Judah

¹ See on *x.* 14; *Amos* ix. 1 (*D. and F.* pp. 27, 115 *f.*).

² On the southern Shechem (originally Shakram?) see *T. and B.* pp. 220, 407, 413, 494 *f.*

³ Wellhausen, Oort, Ruben, Nowack, Oettli, Marti, Harper.

also stumbled with them,' again doctors the text in the same bald style, appending to v. 10 a pertinacious *gam yehudah* (καὶ Ἰουδα). These words form the opening of v. 11. The rest of v. 11, however, and the initial clause of vii. 1 are certainly not the work of this industrious scribe. Here, in fact, it is not Judah's present, but her future that is spoken of, so that we must, according to Marti, suppose two interpolators to have been concerned in producing the non-Hosean element. I regret that I cannot follow this able critic. The theory of two glosses of different import ought only to be adopted under strict compulsion. Does this compulsion exist here? Is textual criticism at the end of its resources? Let us look at the words. Is it likely that a second interpolator appended to the *גם יהודה* of the first interpolator such an obscure phrase as *שֶׁת קָצִיר לָךְ*, by which too (according to Marti) he imposed on *גם יהודה* a new and different reference? Surely it is not, and the obvious inference is that the text is corrupt, and the same must, of course, be said of the following words: *בְּשׁוּבִי שְׁבוֹת עִמִּי כִרְפְּאִי לְיִשְׂרָאֵל*. Of course we must look underneath the existing text. What the scribe or glossator originally wrote became mutilated, and the redactor gently manipulated what reached him so as to produce an eschatological reference, in spite of the unsuitableness of this to the context. My own conclusion is that in its original form the whole non-Hosean element in vi. 11, vii. 1 was one of those topographical glosses which we have found already to be not infrequent. I base this on certain classified textual phenomena. Experience has shown that just as *יִשְׁמַעְאֵל* (= *ישמעאל*) often comes from *שָׁם*, so *שֶׁת* sometimes represents *אֶשְׁתֶּר*;¹ also that in 1 S. xxx. 29 *רָכַל* stands for *רִחְמַאֵל* (= *ירחמאל*);² also that *יִבְשׁ* and similar word-groups often represent *אֶשְׁבֵּל* (= *ישמעאל*);³ and word-groups like *רָפָא* sometimes stand for *עָרַב*.⁴ All that remains to account for is *קָצִיר*; this, however, like *יִצְחָק* in vi. 9, may come from *הַצֹּרֵר*. *שְׁבוֹת עִמִּי* is simply spun by

¹ *T. and B.* p. 110.

² It should be noticed that *לָךְ* may easily have come from *רָכַל*; *ר* precedes. See *Crit. Bib.* p. 245

³ *T. and B.* p. 195.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 240, 472.

the redactor out of **בשורי**; redactional too are the suffixes in **שורי** and **רפאי**. Combining all these results, we obtain this gloss, which relates probably to the names Asshur (= Ashtar) and Ḥaṣor in the true text of *v.* 9—‘Ashtar, Ḥaṣor of Yerahme’el, in Ishmael, in Israelite Arabia.’¹

It is now the turn of Shimron² (*vii.* 1) to hear the prophetic denunciation. Amos has already recorded a part of the delinquencies of its people (*Amos* iii. 9 *f.*, iv. 1). Our prophet, too, mentions the breaches of social morality too prevalent there. The Shimronites, hardened by impunity, suppose that Yahweh is ignorant of their wickedness. And then (*v.* 3) begins a description of the political disorders of the time, which Hosea refers to the treasonable neglect of the will of Yahweh. It is, in fact (*cp.* viii. 4), a proof of Israel’s ‘wickedness’ that the sacred oil (with supernatural virtues) is poured on kings whom Yahweh has not chosen, and to whom he refuses his sanction. A gloss which has been detected in *v.* 4 tells us that ‘all these belonged to Arabia,’ a remark which is confirmed by the true text of *v.* 6 *a*, and by sound historical criticism, for the soldiers of fortune who attained high rank in those times do appear to have been N. Arabians.

But before I venture to say more I must justify my views by methodical textual criticism. In *v.* 3 **וַיִּשְׂמְחוּ**, ‘they anoint,’ is a suggestion of Wellhausen’s for **וַיִּשְׂמְדוּ**, ‘they gladden.’ This involves a simple transposition of letters, such as often has the happiest results, and it is noteworthy that, capital as it is, the correction has no support from the versions. Clearly the versions have been over-estimated by many scholars. But let us pass on to *v.* 4, which will never yield its secret to mere mechanical criticism. Referring for a full conspectus of proposals to Harper’s commentary, I will limit myself to those which seem to be really important, whether I can always adopt them or not. According to Marti *v.* 4 is composed of two glosses, one of which³ likens the prince to an oven, and the other⁴ explains the figure of the baker consistently with the reading **אִפְהֶם** (A.V., ‘their

¹ **אֲשֶׁתִּיר הַצֹּר יִרְחַמְעֵאל בִּישְׁמַעֵאל בְּעֶרְבַּ לְיִשְׂרָאֵל**. I follow **Ⲙ** in reading **ב** for **כ**.

² The southern Shimron. The **ו** before **נָגַלָה** is redactional.

³ **כָּמוֹ תֹנֹר בָּעֵר הֵם**.

⁴ **כָּלֵם מִן אִפְהֵם יִשְׁבֹּת מַעֲיִר וְנֹו**.

baker') in *v.* 6. The latter gloss, according to this scholar, begins with the words *בָּלָם מִן אֲפִים*, 'they all belong to the guild of bakers'; this is a substitute for the *בָּלָם מִן אֲפִים* of MT., which is certainly an unsuitable reading. But can one altogether follow Marti? I am afraid not. That glosses have penetrated into the text is certain. But 'they all belong to the bakers' is too trivial. *בָּלָם מִן אֲפִים* would, at any rate, be better, but is still inadequate. I would, therefore, suggest *בָּלָם מִן עֲרָבִים*, 'they all belong to Arabia' (see above). Similarly the following words in MT., *כְּמוֹ תִנּוּר*, *בְּעֵרָה*, to which *מ* may be attached, is a corruption, not of *בָּעַר הֵם*, 'נ' ת' *בְּעַר רַחֵם*, *י.ע.* 'for Raham (= Yerahme'el) is a burning oven,' a gloss based on *v.* 7 *a*. After this comes another gloss,¹ very late in its origin, for it presupposes the wrong reading, *אֲפִהֶם*, in *v.* 6 (see above).

Certainly this is one of the most trying as well as interesting passages in Hosea, nor can we understand it till we have eliminated the glosses. Verse 4, as we have seen, is altogether made up of glosses. Another gloss disfigures *v.* 5; 'he has drawn his hand with mockers' (in *b*) is unintelligible and apparently beyond correction. On the other hand a very slight correction makes *v.* 5 *a* quite satisfactory. *הִתְחַלְּוּ*, 'they have made sick,' is evidently wrong, but *הִתְחַלְּוּ* (2 S. xiii. 5), 'they have feigned themselves sick,' makes a probable sense. In *v.* 6 there are also corrections to make. For the impossible *קִרְבו* I formerly, with Wellhausen and Perles, read *קִרְבָּם*, which, however, seems to me now a poor makeshift. We can best explain *קִרְבו* on the analogy of *רִנְבו* in Ex. xv. 1,² which certainly comes from *רִנְבוּל*, *י.ע.* *יִרְחַמְאֵל*; as a gloss, the scribe inserted *בְּעֲרָבִים*, 'in Arabia,' which, however, has been corrupted into *בְּאַרְבָּם* (A.V., 'whiles they lie in wait'!) The next correction is due to Robertson Smith³—*יֵשֶׁן* for *יֵעָשֶׂן*; the expression is more natural. *אֲפִהֶם*, 'their baker,' is a redactional alteration of *אֲמָם*, 'their anger' (Tg., Pesh.; so Marti), designed to support the figure of the baker.

¹ 'A baker ceases kindling from the kneading of the dough till it is leavened.'

² *T. and B.* p. 558.

³ *Prophets of Israel*, p. 413.

Combining our results in *vv.* 3-7, we obtain this as most probably Hosea's true meaning :

In their wickedness they anoint kings,
In their treason princes.
On the day of our king feign themselves sick
The princes with heat from wine.

For Yerahme'el—their heart is like an oven,
Their anger smokes all night,
In the morning it burns
Like a flaming fire.

They all glow like an oven,
They devour their rulers,
All their kings have fallen,
There is none among them that calls for me.

It would appear from this that Yerahme'elites formed an influential part of the nominally Israelite population; that they became, in fact, to a large extent, the 'princes' or high officers. Very possibly Zachariah, son of the second Jeroboam (who, both in his own right, and as a descendant of Jehu, might claim legitimacy), is the king referred to in *v.* 5 as 'our king,' whereas 'the king,' in *v.* 3, may perhaps include both Shallum and Menahem, at least, if 'the king' is equivalent to 'kings' (cp. viii. 4), otherwise it will only refer to Shallum. Hosea appears to state that on some festal occasion much wine was drunk in the royal palace, but that the 'princes' contrived to preserve their self-control, and only feigned themselves to be sick. At break of day the conspirators unmasked themselves and killed the unsuspecting king.

We now pass on to another section, vii. 8–viii. 3, in which Israel's religious backsliding, and not less his political folly, are further emphasised. It begins, according to Prof. G. A. Smith,¹ with 'two epigrams, short, but of marvellous adequacy,' viz. 'Ephraim—among the nations he mixeth himself: Ephraim has become a cake not turned.' On the first of these it is remarked, 'It is a great crisis for any

¹ *The Twelve Prophets*, i. 270-273.

nation to pass from the seclusion of its youth and become a factor in the history of the world.' And on the second, 'How better describe a half-fed people, a half-cultured society, a half-lived religion, a half-hearted policy, than by a half-baked scone?' I confess that I should like this to be a true development of Hosea's meaning, but I am not persuaded that it is so. The next verse states that Ephraim has been devoured by strangers, and that he has become prematurely old without his knowing it. The verb in vii. 8 ought, therefore, to mean something like 'is devoured,' and the 'cake not turned' ought, like the grey hairs, to symbolise impending national death. Consequently, we are bound to criticise יתבולל in *v.* 8 *a*, and to provide a new exposition of *b*. What *b* really means has been already indicated, so that the verb in *a* is all that we have to find out. Several critics¹ have proposed יבול, 'fades away,' but יבלע, 'is swallowed up, annihilated,' is surely better (cp. viii. 8). But how is יתבולל to be accounted for? Must it not be in a later scribe's fusion of two similar words, viz. יתבול and יבלע? Just as in iv. 14 (see note) a gloss-maker says that the unintelligent people just described was Yithbal² (*i.e.* Ishmael), so another scribe wished it to be understood that 'the peoples' in vii. 8 meant the same Yithbal or Ishmael (יתבול הוא, 'that is, Yithbal'). Evidently this scribe was aware that Miṣrim and Aššur (the destroyers of Israel, *v.* 11) were in the larger sense Yerahme'elite countries.

Prof. G. A. Smith's two 'epigrams' are, therefore, but one, and, omitting the gloss detected in *l.* 2, the true meaning of Hosea is:

Ephraim is being brought to naught among the peoples,
Ephraim has become a cake not turned.

The same expositor finds, in the remainder of chap. vii., variations on the theme of the opening 'epigrams.' This certainly does not apply to *v.* 10, which must be a later insertion. But *v.* 11 may be called a poetic variation on *v.* 8. It runs thus:

¹ Oettli, Nowack (ed. 2), Marti; cp. Ewald.

² The text corrupts this into ילבט.

And Ephraim is become like a dove,
Silly, without understanding ;
To Mišrim they cry,
To Asšhur they journey.

The reference in lines 3 and 4 is to the frequent embassies, not to Assyria and Egypt (Hosea is not concerned with these countries), but to the great N. Arabian state of Asšhur (or Ašḥur), and the smaller, and not always independent, state of Mišrim.¹ That this view is correct, appears, not so much from the letter of v. 11 (the ordinary interpretation of which might pass), as from the general atmosphere of the book, and from the concise and weighty statement of xi. 5. It is true neither xi. 5 nor any other passage of the kind is as important singly as in its context, but even if we do take xi. 5 singly, it should be plain that אֲשׁוּר and מִצְרַיִם are not countries so far apart as Assyria and Egypt, but stand in close geographical relation.

In vii. 12 the fortune of the 'silly dove' is pursued further. As soon as the dove flies out of its cote, Yahweh, as an expert fowler, will bring it down. The stanza continues, according to A.V., 'I will chastise them, as their congregation hath heard.' This is right in so far as it implies a correction of אִיסָּרָם into אִיָּסָּרָם. But נִשְׁמַע לְעֵדָתָם, as Wellhausen remarks, is unintelligible. Marti (after Oettli) would read עַל רָעָתָם, 'because of their malignity'; the malignant animals (a figure for the Israelites) Yahweh places in confinement. נִשְׁמַע, the remaining letters of the text, Marti regards as an explanatory gloss to עַל = 'according to the report (?) of their malignity.' Surely this only shows that the time has fully come for a keener textual criticism, in which old methods should be, not deserted, but supplemented by new.

Let us then take a hint from the results of our critical attempts elsewhere. The early scribes had not lost the consciousness that the older prophecies which had come down to them represented ministries largely concerned with N. Arabia. Accordingly, to prevent misunderstanding, they

¹ Staerk (*Ass. Weltreich*, pp. 186 f.) agrees so far as Mišrim goes. He assumes, however, wrongly that Asšhur must mean Assyria.

frequently inserted what may be called, in a loose sense, geographical glosses. One of these glosses we have now before us; no other explanation (as the remarks of the commentators show) is even possible. Read *בִּישְׁמַעֵאל אֲשֶׁתָּרִים*, 'in Ishmael of the Ashtarites,' and in illustration of the correction of *עֲדָרָם*, cp. 'Atharim, 'Aṭarah, 'Ataroth, 'Ater, all connected with 'Ashtar or 'Ashtar. The whole quatrain (vii. 12) should therefore run:

As often as they go (out),
I will spread my net upon them.
Like birds of the heaven I will bring them down,
I will punish them . . . ;

to this is appended the gloss, 'in Ishmael of the Ashtarites' (cp. Amos v. 27).

Why, indeed, should Yahweh withhold a well-deserved punishment? Have they not insulted him by speaking falsely about him, denying that he 'remembers all their wickedness' (v. 2)? And when they have cried aloud ('howled'), or made cuttings in their flesh,¹ had it any moral significance? Was it not simply to move the Deity to grant material blessings, wheat, or new wine (vii. 13 *b*, 14)? Such, briefly, are the contents of the sixth quatrain, and of the last line of the fifth, accepting Marti's arrangement of the oracle.

As to textual questions, I can fortunately leave the fifth quatrain to Harper and Marti. The second line of the sixth, however, has one difficulty which I cannot explain; I have at present no solution of the problem. On the other hand, I hope to throw some fresh light on the fourth line. All that MT. gives us is *יִסְרוּ בִּי*. Evidently this cannot be right, since *סור* requires *מן* after it. Indeed, *יִסְרוּ* was already a source of perplexity to the ancients. Two ancient variants, viz. *יִסְרֵנִי*, which has fixed itself in v. 15 (in MT., but not in *G*'s text), and *יִסְרוּ*, which is now in v. 16. These are but attempts to make sense of a corrupt text. *בִּי*, however, the ancients did not venture to manipulate. And yet its origin and meaning should be plain. Without appealing to *בֵּית שֵׁן* in the Mishna for *בֵּית שֵׁן*,

¹ יִסְרוּ ; *G*, κατετέμνοντο.

it is certain that **בִּי** in the O.T. is sometimes written for **בֵּית**, and that, by accident or design, words were now and then transposed in the redacted text. The companion word lies underneath either **יִסְרוּ** (of which **יִסְרֵי** is an ancient conjectural emendation) or **יִשְׁוּבוּ**. The latter is attended in MT. by a warning **פֶּשֶׁק**, and followed by **לֹא עַל**, which is probably a corruptly expanded fragment of **יִשְׁמַעַל**, a view which is supported by numerous parallels.¹ The result is that **יִסְרוּ בִּי** must have come either from **בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל** or from **בֵּית יִשְׁמַעֲאֵל**. The careful reader will remember that the same variety of reading exists in vi. 10, where Hosea says that a 'horrible' sight presented itself in Beth-Israel, or, as we may also read, in Beth-Ishmael. The latter reading is more probable. It will be noticed that **יִשְׂרָאֵל** underlies **יִסְרוּ**, and that **יִשְׁמַעֲאֵל** is the original of **יִשְׁוּבוּ**.

I have spoken already of the quatrains of the original oracle in vii. 8, viii. 3. On the eighth and last of these Marti has some observations which I will mention because the prevalent type of criticism is here seen at its best. The first stichus, he thinks, is 'their princes shall fall by the sword' (in *v.* 16), and this is all, he thinks, that is certain. For the improbable phrase **לְשׁוֹנָם** he would read **מִזְמֵרֵם** or **שִׁנְיָתָם**. The difficult **זוֹ לְעֵגֶם**² he renders, 'that is, their mockery'—a gloss on **לְשׁוֹנָם**. He is surprised at 'in the land of Egypt,' because elsewhere in Hosea Asshur and Egypt are coupled. These two last stichi, he thinks, are contained in viii. 3; *vv.* 1, 2 are late insertions in a corrupt form. Great, however, as Marti's alertness may be, he has lost something by his neglect of new methods of textual criticism. For instance, he retains the words **הָיוּ כְקֶשֶׁת רְמִיָּה**, 'they are become like a deceitful bow,' the right criticism of which supplies the key to the other problems. The same comparison (however we read the words) occurs in Ps. lxxviii. 57. It should be noticed, however, that, if we apply the new methods, **קֶשֶׁת** can be shown to be frequently a corruption of **אֲשֹׁחֶרֶת**³ (the fem. form of **אֲשֹׁחֹר**), and **רְמִיָּה** to be a corruption of **יִרְחָם**. The

¹ See on **אֵלֶּעַל**, xi. 7; **עַם אֵל**, xii. 1; **הָקָם עַל**, 2 S. xxiii. 1; **אֲמִי אֵל**, Num. xxiii. 4; **חֲתִיל**, Hos. v. 11.

² **זוֹ** again only in Ps. cxxii. 12.

³ *T. and B.* pp. 319, 337.

meaning of the stichus will then be, 'they have become (in their religious usages) like Ashḥoreth-Yerahme'el.' On this compound name friendly scribes have produced three glosses. One is צמענים, 'Sim'onites,' underneath מועם;¹ another, ישמעאלים, underneath לשונם²; a third, גלעדנים, underneath לעגם; while ור, before לעגם, may come from ואת, 'that is.' בארץ מצרים, 'in the land of Miṣrim,' may be a fragment of a lost stichus.

The third and fourth lines of the quatrain are probably to be found in viii. 3 :

Israel has rejected with abhorrence the thing that is good ;
The enemy shall pursue him.

Who is 'the enemy' ? Possibly the answer is given in the text underlying the impossible דַּעֲנוּךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל, which may have come from רַעְמָן יִשְׁמַעְאֵל; Ra'aman, *i.e.* Yerahme'el, and Ishmael are alternative readings; 'the enemy' referred to is the greatest N. Arabian power. This is at any rate not a mere fancy; the present form of the text is evidently a consequence of the corruption of וְלֹא-זַעַקוּ אֵלַי (a quotation from vii. 14) into לִי יֹעֶקֶר אֱלֹהֵי. This form of text naturally indicated some appendix as necessary, and a carelessly written רַעְמָן יִשְׁמַעְאֵל would easily become דַּעֲנוּךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל. So then, once more it is plain that the early scribes were aware of the historic importance for Israel of N. Arabia. (On viii. 1 note that the first part is based on Isa. lviii. 1.³)

viii. 4-14. ISRAEL'S CAPRICE AND PERVERSITY

The section has suffered much from interpolation. In v. 4 an attack is made on the arbitrary choice of kings and princes, and on the equally arbitrary manufacture of images for worship,—specially on the latter. The divine oracle says (v. 5),—

I abhor thy calf, O Shimron,
My wrath is kindled against it ;
[To] Arabia of Ethmol shall it be carried,
A present to the king of Ashḥur.

¹ See on בעַמָּה, Am. ix. 1.

² *T. and B.* p. 169.

³ See Grätz, *Emendationes* ; Cheyne, *Expositor*, Nov. 1897, p. 364 ; Marti's commentary.

The difficulties of *v. 5 a* are not great. זנח should be 'זנח', *i.e.* זנחת (Winckler), and בם should be בה (as in Isa. viii. 15),—so Marti; for 'Shimron,' see on Am. iii. 12. *V. 5 b* requires more resource. It has been regarded as the ejaculation of a later reader shocked at the Samaritan schismatics. This is most improbable. In its present form the passage is redactional, but the redactor based his work on imperfect fragments of an earlier text. עד מתי לא represents [ל]ערב אתמול; אתמול, as often, is a popular distortion of ישמעאל, which seems to have been used side by side with the correct form; יוכלו comes from יובל. At this point we must disregard the verse-division, and combine נקיון with כי מישראל; the original of this is מנחה למלך (see x. 6). For the confusion of 'Israel' and 'Ishmael' see above (on *v. 2*), and for 'the more correct reading,' 'to the king of Ashhur,' see below.

The text of viii. 6 is equally difficult, but also equally interesting. We have to study—(a) והוא חרש עשהו ולא, (b) יהיה עגל שמרון, and (c) אלהים הוא. As to (a), I doubt whether such a logical polemic against images can be credited to Hosea, and I may remark by anticipation that the parallel passage (xiii. 2) seems equally doubtful. Happily, experience of corrupt passages elsewhere gives us a cue to the mysteries. חרש is one of the corruptions of אשחור, and the latter word being written imperfectly, the scribe wrote it a second time; it now appears, manipulated, as עשהו. אלהים, too, is corrupt; it comes from אלחם, *i.e.* ירחמאל.¹ Thus we obtain a gloss, 'It is Ashhur and not Yerahme'el'; *i.e.* in *l. 4* of the above quatrain 'Ishmael' (= Yerahme'el) should be 'Ashhur.' This, in fact, is in accordance with *v. 13*, *x. 6*. (b) too is inexplicable without new critical methods. שבבים means neither 'aranearum fila'² (as Jerome's Hebrew), nor 'splinters of wood' (*BDB*; *Ges.-Buhl*). The case of [שבב] is similar to that of סביב, Am. iii. 11; both forms derive from ישבל = ישמעאל. כי ש' is a poor variant to the corrupt כי מישראל. Lastly (c) should of course be 'והוא ע'ש', 'in fact, it is the calf of Shimron.'

¹ *T. and B.* p. 69.

² Ruben, on this basis, reads עקביש עקביש, *Critical Remarks*, 1896, p. 15.

We see therefore that *v.* 6 is for the most part an accumulation of glosses.

Verses 7 and 8 describe in figurative language how Israel is already virtually destroyed; the last clause in *v.* 7, which takes the language literally, is thereby shown to be a gloss. *Vv.* 9, 10 *b* should be taken together; *v.* 10 *a* may be omitted as written from an exilic point of view. So much is certain (Marti), but what can be made of **פָּרָא בֹרֵד לֹ**? Is the 'wild ass' Asshur or Israel? And since, as zoologists assure us, wild asses congregate in droves, how can the expression 'taking his way by himself'—if that be a fair rendering¹—be tolerable? Moreover, are not parallelism and the requirements of the context flagrantly violated? Corruption is therefore certain. First, as to **פָּרָא**.² In Gen. xvi. 12 **פָּרָא**, in Jer. ii. 24 **פָּרָה**, as well as in Hos. x. 2 **יַעֲרָה**, and the first part of **אֲרַמְשֹׁד** in Gen. x. 22, are corruptions of **עָרַב**, and the well-known but hitherto mysterious **רַפְּאִים** may plausibly be traced to **אֲרַפִּים**, a dialectal form of **עֲרָבִים**. **פָּרָא** here should therefore be **עָרַב**, 'Arabia.' Next, as to **בֹּרֵד לֹ**. **בֹּרֵד** occurs again in Isa. xiv. 31 and Ps. cii. 8, but in both passages the context is corrupt.³ Here too the phrase is corrupt, but the remedy is plain. **לֹ**, as not seldom elsewhere (*e.g.* in x. 1), comes from the final **אֵל** in an ethnic. What that ethnic is we must learn from **בֹּרֵד**, which probably comes from **רֹבֵל**, *i.e.* **יִרְבָּאֵל**, which is a popular corruption of **יִרְחַמָּאֵל**, the **אֵל** underneath **לֹ** is a dittograph which in Isa. and Ps. is wanting.

The result is that the 'wild ass' disappears. The course ascribed to the Israelites is, in fact, too discreditable to be honoured in the description by such a poetic figure (see Job xxxix. 5-8). The true text stated that the Israelites did something or other relative to Arabia of Yerahme'el. What that was we shall see presently. Verse 8 *b* in the text runs **אֶפְרַיִם הִתְנוּ אֶהָבִים**, which is supposed to mean, 'Ephraim has given love-presents.'⁴ Against this it may be urged that **תָּנָה**

¹ There can at any rate be no idea of movement in **בֹּרֵד**. It is too hazardous to appeal to Ar. *badda* in x., 'go alone, act independently' (BDB).

² *T. and B.* pp. 274 *f.*

³ In the former read **וְאִשׁ בָּעָרָה**; in the latter (in the light of Hosea), **עַל-גִּרְפֵּי יִרְחַמָּאֵל**.

⁴ *I.e.* presents with a view to an alliance with another state.

= 'to give,' and אֶהְבִּים = 'love-presents' are highly dubious, and that a plural verb with 'Ephraim' is not to be expected. Wellhausen finds a partial remedy by changing 'Ephraim' into 'Miṣraim' and הִתְנוּ into יִתְנוּ; he thus obtains the sense, 'to Ephraim, to give love-presents.' But this is highly arbitrary, and the parallelism produced is imperfect, nor is the sense 'love-presents' justified. We must, therefore, question the text altogether. First, אַמְרִים, which, on the analogy of פֶּרָא in the same verse, may reasonably be corrected into עֲרָבִים, 'Arabians.' Next, אַהֲבִים, which, on abundant analogies (see on iii. 1, iv. 18), must be read אֲחָאֲבִים, 'Aḥ'abites.' Lastly, הִתְנוּ, under which it requires no miraculous insight to recognise הִתְעַבּוּ. Our work is now complete; the half-quatrain written or dictated by Hosea runs thus:

For as for them, they have gone up to Asshur,
In Arabia of Yerahme'el they have humbled themselves.

And what is the continuation? Verse 10 gives us too much, and the superfluity is obviously the promise with which the passage most inconsistently opens. The promise runs thus: 'Even if they give (יִתְנוּ) among the nations, yet now will I gather them,' or rather, 'Even if they be humiliated' (יִתְעַבּוּ, Ps. cvii. 17). The gloss-maker evidently understood the preceding words of the exiles. Our business, therefore, is with v. 10 *b*; we have to find out whether it is a fit sequel to v. 9. And I think that he would be a bold man who should affirm that it was. Certainly the MT. is quite impossible (see A.V. and R.V.), but G's text, though more plausible, is not thoroughly satisfactory. Translated,¹ it reads thus, 'And they shall cease (וַיִּחְדְּלוּ) a little from anointing (מִמְשָׁח) king and princes.' But this is not what we expect as a sequel to v. 9. The embassies to Asshur had a definite object, and this object it is which ought to find expression. Besides, what is the meaning of 'ceasing a little'? Nowack says it may be ironical, but is there any parallel for such irony? It should also be noticed that the MT. has no ו before שָׂרִים, although, if G's general view is correct, the ו is extremely important; in fact, a comparison

¹ G has καὶ κοπάσουσιν μικρὸν τοῦ χρίειν βασιλεῖα καὶ ἄρχοντας.

of v. 13¹ suggests the idea that the original phrase may have been equivalent to 'king of Arabia' (*i.e.* have been 'king of Kashram'²). Add to this that in Am. vi. 6 (see note) מִשְׁחֹר is most probably a corruption of רַמְשָׁח, 'Ramshah,' and that Ramshah (*i.e.* Aram-Ashhur) may easily have been miswritten for Kashram; it may, in fact, have been a variant to Kashram.

Putting all this together, we arrive (I hope) at something more like the original than anything which earlier critics have proposed,—

וַיְחַלּוּ מֵעַתָּה And they will hope a little while
מִמֶּלֶךְ קַשְׁרָם Because of the king of Kashram (*variant*
Ramshah).

If the critic objects that this is not brilliant (*geistreich*) enough for Hosea, I may reply, 1, that the prophets have often been measured by a false literary standard, and, 2, that Hosea is addressing those to whom N. Arabian names, both personal and regional, were household words.

Verses 11 and 12 should provide us with another quatrain, the first of a minor section. We cannot, however, take the text even of *v.* 11 quite as it stands. The Revised Version renders thus,—

Because Ephraim hath multiplied altars to sin,
Altars have been unto him to sin.

Here at any rate a fair standard of 'brilliance' has not been reached. Neither form nor contents is like what we know of Hosea. One is driven to the conclusion that there have been both corruption and mutilation of the original text. The perverse ingenuity of the scribes may aggrieve us ; still we must remember that the latter scribes had less knowledge than the earlier ones, and therefore had to shoot oftener into the blue. In dealing with *v.* 11 I have ventured to take a suggestion from *v.* 14 ('and built temples'). *הוֹי־לֹ* may have come from a partly effaced *היכלות*, and the same ill fate which marred *היכלות* may have caused *ויבן* to drop out.

¹ Here 'Asshur' and 'king of Arabia' (read עֲרַב) are parallel.

² See on ix. 6, x. 4, xii. 1, and cp. *T. and B.* pp. 214, 332; *D. and F.* p. 63. Note that the initial כ in כשרם would easily fall out after מלך.

לחטא seems to have arisen out of אתחל, *i.e.* אשנל.¹ The second לחטא מוב' is of course a scribe's error. I would read therefore (v. 11):

כִּי־הִרְבֵּה אִפְרַיִם מִבְּחֹת
וַיִּבֶן הִיכָלוֹת בְּאֶשְׁחֵל

Verse 12 is still more trying. The common rendering is, 'Were I to write by myriads my laws (MT., my law), they would be accounted as those of a stranger'; but how difficult this is Harper's commentary will show. The reference to writing is indeed no stumbling-block, but the idea of Yahweh's writing laws 'by myriads' is surely too hyperbolic, nor can it be said that נחשבו favours such a construction. We must therefore criticise, and, to begin with, the double makkef in אֶתְחַבֵּל־לִי probably indicates the loss of some letters. I suggest reading אֶקוֹשׁ בְּהִיכָלוֹת, and would trace רבו to ירבעל, *i.e.* ירחמאל. תֹּרֹתִי (G, Vg.) needs no defending. It belongs, however, to line 4, not to line 3, and the whole half-quatrain should read:

אֶקוֹשׁ בְּהִיכָלוֹת יִרְחַמְאֵל
תֹּרֹתִי כִּמוֹ זֶר נִחְשָׁבוּ

And what does the restored text of viii. 12 mean? The preceding quatrain says that Ephraim has begun the work of self-destruction by seeking for an Asshurite intervention. The present quatrain adds, as another explanation of the calamity, that Ephraim has built (or rebuilt) many fresh altar-sanctuaries, especially in its N. Arabian border-land; cp. xiv. 1 (xiii. 16). And no sooner has the prophet uttered this than he becomes more intensely inspired, and speaks directly in the name of his God. 'I loathe the temples of Yerahme'el (where) my laws are accounted as those of a strange god.'² These temples, in fact, bear the name of Yahweh-Yerahme'el, or perhaps even Yahweh has but the second place in the compound divine name. The *tōrōth* of these sanctuaries may have been chiefly ceremonial, whereas those of Yahweh related to the true 'knowledge of Elohim' (vi. 6). Hosea himself abhors the Yerahme'el religion, its laws and usages, and he doubts not that, for this, he has the sanction of his God.

¹ *T. and B.* pp. 18, 23, 545.

² *T. and B.* p. 63.

Verse 13 is hard or easy according to one's critical point of view. Let us test rival methods by the treatment given to **הַבְּהָרִי**. Most scholars interpret 'my gifts' from **יָדַב** 'to give.' **¶**, however, presupposing a connexion with **אָהַב** 'to love,' renders *θυσιασθήρια τὰ ἡγαπημένα*, while Marti ventures on the correction **וַיִּבְחַר וַיִּזְכֹּר אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים**. This seems to me purely arbitrary. Marti, however, sees quite rightly that **הַב** is dittographed. A reference to the notes on verse 9, iii. 1, and ix. 10 will enable the reader to go further, and make the obvious emendation **אֲחָאבִּים**, 'the Ah'abites'; one is reminded of the complaint in Mic. vi. 16 that Israel practises the cultus of the house (territory) of Ah'ab (= Ashhur-Arāb). See p. 240.

It now becomes extremely difficult to defend **בִּשְׂרֵי וַיֹּאכְלוּ**. We find, however, that the initial **ב** of certain words is a fragment of **אָב** = **עָרַב**, and that **אָכַל** has sometimes come from **אָשַׁל** (cp. **אָשַׁח** = **אָחַר**). **אָשַׁר** therefore may be from **אָבִשָׁר** = **עָרַב-שִׁיר**,¹ and **וַיֹּאכְלוּ** an expansion of **אָכַל** = **אָשַׁל**. 'Arab-shur Ashkal' would be a gloss on 'Ah'abites.' All is now, I hope, clear, and when we have removed the final clause about Mišrim we obtain an appropriate quatrain :

Sacrifices of the Ah'abites they offer,
Yahweh has no pleasure in them ;
Now will he remember their guilt,
And punish their sins.

Here the section ends. Verse 14 is doubtless an interpolation. 'Builds temples' seems to come from the true text of v. 11.

ix. 1-9. MOURNING IN A HEATHEN LAND INSTEAD OF HEATHENISH FESTIVITY IN YAHWEH'S LAND

Verses 3-6, according to Whitehouse, 'indicates that, in consequence of the Assyrian invasion, there was a considerable migration to Egypt where food was unclean.'²

¹ Cp. *Crit. Bib.* on **בִּשְׂרֵי**, 1 S. xxx. 9, and, for parallels, *T. and B.* p. 571.

² *Transactions of the Oxford Congress (Religions)*, i. 282.

Surely, however, it is not a voluntary migration that is spoken of, nor are the goals of the journeys Egypt and Assyria. To see clearly, we must apply a much keener criticism to *v.* 6. The opening words sound strange enough: 'for, lo, they are gone because of destruction' (so A.V.). Wellhausen would correct *יָלְכוּ אֲשֶׁר* 'they shall go to Asshur,' *i.e.* as he thinks, to Assyria. But the initial *מ* in *מִשָּׁד* cannot so easily be changed. Experience of the habits of scribes seems to me rather to suggest the N. Arabian regional *נִשְׂרָם* (= Ashhur-Aram), which has already occurred close by (see corrected text of *viii.* 10). Then follows, *מִצְרִים תִּקְבְּצִים מִן הַקְּבָרִים*. According to Marti, this consists of two readings, of which he prefers the second, taking *מִן* to mean Memphis.¹ But if Moph is Memphis, what is Noph (*Isa.* xix. 13; *Jer.* ii. 16)? Is it probable that Memphis had two Hebrew names? The truth probably is that, just as *תִּקְבְּצִים* in the first reading is a corruption of *תִּקְבְּרִים* in the second, so *מִן* in the one is a corruption of *מִצְ* (*i.e.* *מִצְרִים*) in the other. And the context (see on *vii.* 16) shows that, not *Miṣraim*, *i.e.* Egypt, but *Miṣrim* in N. Arabia, is the region intended.

We have next to attack the problem of *מִחְמַד לְנֶסֶפֶם*. Probably *Ⲅ* may help us. For *מ' לִנ'* it gives *Μαχμας τὸ ἀργύριον αὐτῶν*, *i.e.* 'מִכְמֶשׁ נֶסֶם'. This certainly will not do, but—patience! MT. continues, *קָמוֹשׁ יִרְשֶׁם*, but 'nettles shall inherit their precious things of silver' is most improbable. *Ⲅ*, however, gives here *ἔλεθρος κληρονομήσει αὐτό*, *i.e.*, according to Vollers, 'מִרְשֶׁשׁ יִר'. Surely this is wrong. The only equivalent of *ἔλεθρος* which will help us is *שָׂד* (see *Ⲅ*, *Prov.* xxi. 7; *Jer.* xlvi. 3); not that *שָׂד* is right, but *שָׂר* (not *שָׂד*) may be a fragment of the right word, *viz.* *נִשְׂרָם* (see above, on *viii.* 10). Accepting this, we can account for both *קָמוֹשׁ* and *נֶסֶפֶם*, which may be mere developments of *נִשְׂרָם*; the *ל* prefixed to *נֶסֶם* may be redactional. One more mistake was committed; *מִחְמַדִּיהֶם* (= *מִחְמַדִּיהֶם*) was mistaken for *מִחְמַד*. Also in *Ⲅ*'s Hebrew text the similarity of the closing letters of *מִחְמַד* to those of *נִשְׂרָם* led to the omission of the latter word. This is not all, however. *בְּאֵהָלֵיהֶם* may justly excite suspicion. The 'nomadic ideal' has, I venture

¹ See *E. Bib.*, 'Noph' (W. Max Müller).

to think, not made such a deep impression on the O.T. writings as Prof. Budde has supposed, and certainly in a whole group of passages an improvement is effected if, instead of אֹהֶל, 'tent,' we read הֵיכַל, 'temple.' In these passages הֵיכַל became partly illegible, and the scribes conjecturally read אֹהֶל.¹ The only other debateable word is חֹר. This of course must share the fate of קְמוּשׁ. A regional name is wanted; read, probably, חֹר[אש].² The quatrain then becomes:

For, lo, they go to Kashram,
Mišrim gives them burial;
Of their precious things Kashram takes possession,
Ashḥur is in her palaces.

It is a sad sentence which Marti passes on ix. 7-9: 'the text is in such disorder that a sense even partly trustworthy can hardly be made out.' I fear this is so; all that can be done this skilful critic has done.—ix. 14. An awesome utterance! The Egyptian sage or prophet Ipuwer has anticipated it: 'Would that there might be an end of men; no conception, no birth' (see p. 10)!

ix. 10-17. THE HEATHENISH CULTUS AND ITS DISASTROUS EFFECTS FOR EPHRAIM

How different, according to Hosea, was the religion of Israel in the wilderness (cp. Am. v. 25)! Here I think that Marti has somewhat failed. He does, indeed, see the improbability of בְּרֵאשִׁיתָה, but (like Harper) takes it for a gloss, the intrusion of which into the text produces a tautology. Really, the final ה is redactional, and רֵאשִׁית, as in vi. 1, 6, represents אֶשְׁתָּר. 'Grapes in the wilderness' are parallel to 'figs in Ashtar.' Possibly the wilderness of Shur or Asshur (= Ashtar) is meant, of which (as of the wilderness of Kadesh, Num. xx. 5) it could be said, 'this is no place of seed or of figs.' At any rate, *midbar* and *ashtar* seem to be synonymously parallel. More important, however, is Marti's failure

¹ Cheyne, *Book of Psalms* ⁽²⁾, on Ps. xix. 5.

² *Ibid.*, on Ps. lxxiv. 11 (Kt., חֹקֶר).

to solve the problems of **בשת** and **אֱהָבָם**. This is his version of ix. 10 b:

They came to Baal-Peor,
There they consecrated themselves to Baal,
And became as abominable
As the object of their love.

Two points here are questionable, (*a*) the explanation of *bōsheth* as = *ba'al*, and (*b*) the assumption that there is a noun **אֱהָבָה** meaning 'the object of love' (masc.). As to (*a*), the ordinary view that *bōsheth*, 'shame,' is a contemptuous nickname for 'Baal' is a make-shift explanation, imperfectly supported. It has been proposed to point **בַּשְׁתִּי**, corresponding to Bashti, the name (it is said) of a Babylonian deity.¹ It may be doubted, however, whether the cult of this deity had made its way into Palestine. The most satisfactory view is that **בשת** was originally written **שבת**, *i.e.* **שַׁבְעִית** = **יִשְׁמַעְאֵלִית** (cp. on xi. 7). *Shab'ith*, then, *i.e.* the Ishmaelite or N. Arabian goddess, is a title of the great Mother-goddess, Ashtart.² As to (*b*), can we have any doubt that **נֶאֱהָבָם** is a corruption or modification of **נֶאֱהָאָבִים**, 'like the Aḥ'abites.' We have already heard of 'sacrifices of the Aḥ'abites' which find no acceptance with Yahweh (viii. 13). These it is which, in Ps. cvi. 28, are called 'the sacrifices of the unclean'³ (reading **מִטְמֵאִים** for **מִתְרִים**).

We now make a leap to another of those passages which, as Nowack puts it, 'mock at all explanation,' and therefore, as it would seem, prove the insufficiency of the unsupplemented older critical methods. It is ix. 13, which R.V. renders thus, 'Ephraim, like as I have seen Tyre, is planted in a pleasant place; but Ephraim shall bring out his children to the slayer.' It is to the credit of Marti that he has not shrunk from dealing with the text. He has, in fact, produced a perfectly regular quatrain, the grim contents of which he considers it not impossible for our prophet to have written:

¹ Jastrow, *JBL*, 1894, pp. 19 ff.

² See on **שַׁשְׁתָּה ש'**, Am. viii. 14, and cp. *T. and B.* p. 18 (n. 2), *D. and F.* p. 33.

³ See Cheyne, *Book of Psalms*⁽²⁾, pp. 133 f.

Ephraim I see (*i.e.* picture) like a man
 Who has set his children for a quarry ;
 For Ephraim himself brings out
 His children for slaughter.

It was worth trying, and the result is striking, but can we add that it is appropriate? The context requires that the hunter and destroyer should be, not Ephraim, but Yahweh. Now, although Marti often expresses his dissent from the N. Arabian theory, he never goes into the reasons for the theory. Having therefore solved at any rate some enormous textual problems with the help of that theory, I will venture to present scholars with a parallel solution of our enigma. It is usual to suppose that צור as a place-name is unsuitable here. That is a great mistake. Only it is not the northern but the southern Şor which is meant (as in Amos i. 9 and elsewhere¹); the name is a shortened form of Mişşor (= Mişrim). Most probably, however, Şor or Mişşor is a gloss which has intruded into the text at an inconvenient place. The name really given to Israel's destroyer is Ethbaal (*i.e.* Ishmael) or Yerahme'el; the former is represented corruptly by רֵאִיתִיל, the latter by אֵל[ם]רִימל. And there is yet another ethnic which the original text must have had, דְּהַר, represented incorrectly by דְּהַר. It remains to be pointed out that the prosaic נֶאֱשַׁר reveals its secret to friends of the new point of view. In fact, אֶשֶׁר is really *asshur*, which, like *ashhur* in the original text of xiii. 15 (Ephraim 'among asshur-trees') and *teasshur* in Isa. xli. 19, lx. 13, means 'an asshur-tree.'³ שְׁחֹלָה has been redactionally altered from שְׁחָל; בְּנוֹה has come from בְּנִיָּה. Thus the passage becomes—

Ephraim is like an asshur-tree
 Planted in a garden (of trees),
 But Ishmael is about to bring forth
 His (Ephraim's) children to Hagar.

That is, secure as Ephraim thinks himself, his well-fenced park shall be profaned, and his sons brought out by the

¹ *T. and B.* p. 172.

² So in Isa. x. 4 דְּהַרִּים should be הַרִּים. See *T. and B.* p. 268 (n. 1).

³ *D. and F.* p. 113.

Ishmaelites (N. Arabians) to the Hagrite slave-merchants, who shall carry them far away. Cp. Amos i. 6, 9; Joel iv. 6, 8.

But our prophet cannot help once more justifying the hard fate both to others and (perhaps) to himself. So in ix. 15 he points to the place which is the centre of all Israel's wickedness, and where Yahweh reached the point of hating his people; Gilgal is its name (cp. iv. 15, xii. 12). Why the supremacy in guilt is assigned to this place it is difficult to say. In vi. 8 it is Gilead (*i.e.* perhaps Asshur-Gilead) which seems to be singled out as the most polluted of Israelite localities. It is possible that 'Gilgal' is miswritten for 'Gilead' (the southern Gilead); a confusion of the names was easy.¹ See further on x. 14.

x. 1-8. THE GROWTH OF ISRAEL'S IMPURE CULTUS
IN THE FERTILE LAND OF CANAAN, AND ITS
IMPENDING DESTRUCTION.

Here, too, all is not clear. Thus, in *v.* 1 *a*, the expression *בֶּקֶק בִּנְיָן* is unexampled. Does it mean 'an empty vine'? or 'a vine that pours or stretches itself out'? Neither meaning can be what Hosea intended to convey, nor can we help regarding it as important that *בִּנְיָן* elsewhere is feminine. We must therefore look further for an explanation. Surely *בֶּקֶק*, like *שֶׁרֶק* (Isa. v. 2; Jer. ii. 21), must be a place-name, so that *ב' ב'* means a vine of the kind grown at Bokek (?). Some particular spot in the N. Arabian borderland must have been called *בֶּקֶק*, or perhaps rather *חִבְקוֹק* or *בִּקְבֶּק*. Equally improbable is *יִשְׂוֶה-לֹו*. *לֹו* suggests an original *יִשְׂמַעְאֵל*, for *לֹו*, as we have seen, may represent the final *אֵל* of such a name. We should therefore read lines 1 and 2 of the first quatrain:

A vine of Bokek (?) is Israel,
His fruit (*פְּרִיר*) is from Ishmael (*יִשְׂמַע'*).

What could be expected of a vine of Bokek than Ishmaelite fruit—the fruit of treason and iniquity? Such is Hosea's meaning. Parallel is Dt. xxxii. 32; contrast Hos. xiv. 9 (end). On the rest of the quatrain see Marti.

¹ *D. and F.* p. 152.

Verse 1 *a* is also not free from obscurity. חלק לבם I take to be a gloss in a corrupt form. The same may be said of דורא יערף, but here, happily, we can see the meaning, for יערף is clearly from עָרַב (see on פֶּרָא, viii. 9); render 'that is, Arabia'—the gloss explains who the destroyer is. For יאשמו read יָשְׁמוּ. Lines 3 and 4 of quatrain ii. should therefore run:

His altars shall become desolate,
His (sacred) pillars shall he destroy (*gloss*, that is, Arabia).

Verses 3 and 4 are later insertions. But the closing words of *v.* 4 do not really belong to it. They are a gloss in a corrupt form, and relate to לאשור, 'to Asshur,' in *v.* 6. In short, both here and in xii. 12, על תלמי שדי, 'on the furrows of the field,' comes from חמול נשרם, 'to Temol (= Ishmael) of Kashram' (see on ix. 6). In *v.* 5 *a* we should perhaps read לעגל בית און (see on iv. 15). The *kemārim* are Yerahme'elite priests.¹ In *v.* 6 יבֶלֶל should be יְבִלֶל² (ἐλπίσεν); for 'king of Arabia,' see on *v.* 13. It is the lowest depth of ignominy that they give away their golden calf to a foreign potentate. In *v.* 8 און and חטאת are early interpolations which spoil the passage.

x. 9-15.—Still the same sad monotonous burden—Israel's harvest shall be one of irremediable ruin. This is one of the most freely supplemented sections of Hosea's extant prophecies; the insertions, as Marti remarks, are of a hortatory and explanatory character suited to a later age. But there has also been corruption of the text both in Hosea's work and in that of the supplementers, and in dealing with the consequent problems the critics have had but a scant measure of success. For instance, in *vv.* 9, 10, Marti has indeed skilfully pointed out the Hosean element which, after some revision, forms a regular and coherent stanza or quatrain:

As in the days³ of Gibeah, (let there be) war
Against the sons of wickedness;
(Now) am I come to punish them,⁴
And will gather⁵ against them peoples.

¹ See on Amos ii. 6; Isa. ii. 6, and cp. *D. and F.* p. 23 (n. 4).

² So Wellhausen, Marti, etc.

³ יָמָיו.

⁴ בָּאתִי וְאַיִסָּרֵם.

⁵ וְאַאֲבִי.

But I fear he has failed to interpret aright the supplementary matter. He sees, it is true, that חטאת ישראל (to be rendered 'Israel's sin') has intruded into the text from *v.* 8. But he candidly admits that from עמדר to בבעה the transmitted text has 'baffled all interpreters.' Yet, if he had but classified the textual phenomena, and supplemented old critical methods by new, he would have seen that שם עמדר must have come from ישפן ארם (for שם, see on *ii.* 17, *vi.* 7); 'Ishman¹-Aram' is probably a gloss on 'peoples' (עמים). The problem of לא חשיגם בגבעה can also, I hope, receive a better solution. We should probably read הלא משחית בגבעה, 'is it not the destruction in Gibeah?' This is presumably an allusion to the story at the end of Judges, now so much altered from its original form. It is a gloss on 'the days of Gibeah.'

There is also a hard phrase in *x.* 10, clearly due to a supplementer, which Marti fails, I think, to comprehend. The Kt. and K_r. differ in the last word, but with neither reading can a suitable sense be obtained. Marti, like the great majority, follows K_r.; he renders, "durch ihre Exilierung wegen ihrer zwei Sünden" (the two sins are the calves of Bethel and Dan). But neither "Exilierung" nor "zwei Sünden" is probable or satisfactory. ואסרם is most probably a corrupt form of ואיסרם, and לשתי עונות of לאשתר צבעונית. The former correction hardly needs defence. As to the latter, שתי for אשתר has already occurred in Amos *iii.* 12 (see note); I may notice in passing that Ashtar was not only a local but a divine name. צבעונית has also repeatedly come before us as a title of the Mother-goddess Ashtart (see on *iv.* 11). Of course, the suffix in עונות (K_r.) is redactional, and arises from a misunderstanding. The whole is a gloss in this form, 'and I will punish them with regard to Ashtar-Şib'ōnith.' The divine duad, or triad, which included a goddess, was in fact the centre of Israel's impure popular religion. This was still the case when 'Israel' had become synonymous with 'Judah.' Deuteronomy and the prophecies of Jeremiah agree in their opposition to Baal (= Asshur or Ashtar) and Ashtart.²

One does not quite see what to do with *vv.* 13, 14.

¹ Ishman, often for Ishmael.

² *D. and F.* pp. 33, 46 f., 119-123.

But at any rate there are three improbable readings which can be corrected, so leading on to a better comprehension of the passage (whether Hosean or not) in which they occur. They are found together in a clause (*v.* 14 *a*) thus rendered by R.V., 'therefore shall a tumult arise among thy people,' with the marginal notes, 'Or, against,' and 'Heb., peoples.' It is plain, however, (*a*) that עַמִּיךָ, 'thy peoples,' cannot be right. Nowhere does Hosea call the tribes of Israel (who might be supposed to be referred to here) עַמִּים, and close by (in *v.* 10) this word certainly means 'hostile peoples.' In the parallel line we have 'thy fortresses'; Wellhausen would therefore read עָרֶיךָ, 'thy cities.' More probably, however, the corruption lies deeper, and a reference to Amos ii. 2, where another of the difficulties here mentioned occurs, may support the correction אֲרֻמְנֹתֶיךָ. It must often have happened that when words had become partly illegible, a scribe would draw the legible letters together, and think nothing of changing א into ע. (*b*) It is also evident that שֹׁאֹן, 'tumult,' is not suitable in a connexion referring to warlike operations. In our study of Amos ii. 2 we have seen that שֹׁאֹן may come from יִשְׁמַעֵאל through some linking form such as שִׁמְאֵן. This is the real key, not only to Amos *l.c.*, but also to Hos. x. 14; Jer. xlvii. 17, xlviii. 45.¹ (*c*) There remains one more improbability—קָאם. I do not, of course, say that there are no parallels for such a form. But I do say that again and again in such cases the superfluous א is an indication of corruption. It is probable that קָאם has come from רַקְמָאן, or some similar corruption of יִרְחַמְעֵאל. 'Yerahme'el' (קָאם) and 'Ishmael' (שֹׁאֹן) will therefore be alternative readings, and the verb, implied by בִּאֲרָמ' (בַּעֲמִיד), will have fallen out. Afterwards read, of course, יִרְשְׁדֵי. We have thus, as the beginning of a quatrain—

And Yerahme'el (*gloss*, Ishmael) shall . . . in thy castles,
And all thy fortresses shall be destroyed.

The Ashhurites (or more distant Yerahme'elites) were noted for their cruelty. Hosea therefore reminds the

¹ שֹׁאֹן (= Ishmael) in Jer. xlviii. 45 corresponds to שֵׁט (= Ashtar) in Num. xxiv. 17.

Israelites of a famous example of this, when Shalman destroyed the city of Beth-Arbel. That Shalman is shortened from Shalmaneser is not to be thought of. Shalmah was the name of a pre-Nabataean Arabian tribe,¹ and we also have the name Salamanu, borne by a Moabite prince in Tiglath-Pileser's time. It is therefore perfectly possible that Shalman (שלמן) was the name of a N. Arabian Asshurite king. בֵּית אַרְבֵּאל can hardly fail to be a corruption of בֵּית יִרְבֵּעַל = ב' יִרְבֵּעַל, *i.e.* Beth-Yerahme'el (𐤁 has *Ιεροβοαμ*; 𐤁^A *Ιεροβααλ*). The city so called was probably in the N. Arabian border-land; its possession seems to have been hotly disputed by Israelites and Asshurites.² The origin of the name Beth-Arbel may, however, quite possibly have been forgotten. The close of the quatrain will therefore be:

As Shalman destroyed Beth-Arbel
In the day of war.

The closing words אַם עַל-בְּנִים רָשָׁה, which are metrically superfluous and do not cohere well with the context, are probably a gloss on 'Beth-Arbel.' The barbarity here implied is probably an exaggeration. As in a number of other cases, textual corruption has led to excess in statement for which the ingenuity of the redactor is responsible. The underlying text of our passage almost certainly had בְּנֵי יִרְבֵּעַל אַשְׁתָּר,³ 'the men of Yerahme'el-Ashtar'; the reason for a slight transposition in MT. will be manifest. Other names for the city referred to may have been Ashtar-Yerahme'el or Ashtar-Gil'adim (see on vi. 8, ix. 15; Am. vi. 1).

In the last stanza Yahweh himself addresses the Israelites. Two small corrections (אֶנְשֵׁה and בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל) are suggested by 𐤁; a third, of much importance, by observation of the frequent occurrence of the N. Arabian regional Ashhur. בְּשַׁחַר, 'in the dawn,' is clearly unsuitable. But שַׁחַר sometimes (*e.g.* Isa. xiv. 12) stands for אַשְׁחַר (Ashhur), and so it probably is here. Omitting three

¹ *E. Bib.*, 'Salmah'; Winckler, *KAT*⁽³⁾, p. 152.

² *D. and F.* p. 51.

³ *T and B.* p. 395 (on Gen. xxxii. 12), and see further on Hos. xiv. 1; Isa. xiii. 16; Nahum iii. 10.

obviously interpolated words (see Marti), we get this highly effective close of the section,—

So will I deal with you,
O house of Israel ;
In Ashhur is cut off
The king of Israel.

The idea is that, just as a former Ashhurite invader destroyed Beth-Arbel, so now all the fortresses of Israel shall be laid in ruins, and the king of Israel shall be deported to Ashhur, and there he and his royal offspring shall perish.

xi. 1-11.—ISRAEL'S HUGE INGRATITUDE. THIS IT IS WHICH COMPELS YAHWEH, AS A MORAL GOD, TO CHANGE AND BECOME HIS PEOPLE'S ENEMY.

The importance of this section for the due comprehension of Hosea is at once manifest.¹ A closer inspection, however, will convince the student that the text needs much careful and methodical revising. In carrying this out we must remember how greatly Hosea, as a S. Israelite prophet, is preoccupied and 'obsessed' by the N. Arabian peril. Our experience elsewhere justifies the hope that we may make some substantial advances upon previous attempts.

For *vs.* 1-3 I can mostly refer to previous commentators. It is needful, however, to point out that it is not Egypt but the N. Arabian land of Mišrim that is referred to in *v.* 1, and that the unsuitable רפאתים in *v.* 3 should be רביתים (Ezek. xix. 2 ; Lam. ii. 22), corresponding to לִי (תְּרִגְלָתִי) (underlying the corrupt גְּדֻלָּתִי). But in *v.* 4 acquiescence in current views becomes more difficult. The text in *a* may look simple at first, but the expositor will soon find himself in straits. Literally rendered, it runs, 'With bands of men I drew them, with cords of love.' Wellhausen, however, ventures on the new rendering, 'with cords of friendship' (אהבה), and Harper, following Ewald, thinks that for the first time the word 'humanity' is made

¹ See article 'Lovingkindness,' *Enc. Biblica*, which, however, needs supplementing from the present work.

synonymous with 'love.' This seems to me tantamount to an admission that the natural interpretation of *v. 3 a* is unsuitable. The critics are perplexed, and I for my part infer that the words in which the perplexity centres (אָדָם and אֶהְבָּה) must be corrupt. If a regional name (מִצְרַיִם) is used at the beginning of the section to state from whence Israel was called, must not other regional names be used to state from whence the oppression came, out of which Israel's God graciously delivered him? Must not אָדָם and אֶהְבָּה be slightly altered forms of regional names, viz. אָרָם (the southern Aram) and אֶהְבָּב, Ah'ab, *i.e.* Ashḥur-Arāb (see on *iv. 18*)? It is true this view of the meaning involves reading the initial prepositions as מ not ב. But the responsibility of arbitrary though well-meant change rests, not with a modern critic, but with the ancient redactor, who had to make the best sense that he could of a clause containing the obscure word אֶהְבָּב. He achieved his object by turning אֶהְבָּב into אֶהְבָּה, and, as a natural supplement, by the slightest touch, changed אָדָם into אָרָם.¹ The resulting text is:

And (that) I drew them out of the bands of Aram,
Out of the cords of Ah'ab,—

where the allusion is to all the early wars between Israel and Yerahme'elite or Ashḥurite foes, including the miscalled Philistines (Ethbalites).

Verse 4 *b* (from וְאֶדְוֶה) remains to be elucidated; it can hardly be said that a fresh attempt is superfluous. The boldest restoration as yet offered is that of Marti, who begins, 'then I became to him a man-slayer.'² Surely, however, what we have here is a collection of early glosses, designed to show that the two regional names just referred to were N. Arabian (cp. the glosses in *vi. 11*, *vii. 1*). וְאֶדְוֶה, as well as יְדִיהָ, has sometimes grown out of הוּא, 'that is' (introducing a gloss). Of course, the glosses in a corrupt form were manipulated by the redactor, who also inserted such helping words as אֵלַי, עַל, לָהֶם, כַּמְרִימִי, however,

¹ See *Crit. Bib.* p. 127, where, however, the true origin of אֶהְבָּה is not traced.

² Marti refers to *Θ*'s ὡς ῥαπίζων ἀνθρώπους.

belongs to the gloss ; it comes from רכמים (plur. of רכם = ירחם), while לחיהם comes from a corrupt form of ירחמאל.¹ Next comes the difficult אש אליו אוריל אש, as in 1 K. xxi. 27, and like לאש in 2 S. xviii. 5 ; Isa. viii. 6 ; Job. xv. 11, and לאשי in Gen. xxxiii. 14, probably comes from אחבעל = ישמעאל. אוריל may come from אוריל (1 Chr. xxvii. 30), which in turn comes from ארבאל, i.e. ירבאל (cp. on x. 14). G's συνησμαι αὐτῷ² (= אורל לו) is only a guess, which does not help forward a coherent view of the passage.

Then follows the punishment of ungrateful Israel (xi. 5, 6). Hosea makes it consist in the revocation of Israel's sonship, shown in the return of the Israelites as captives into Mišrim (see *D. and F.* p. 130). 'He shall return³ into the land of Mišrim.' To this, however, Hosea adds, 'and Asshur shall be his king.'⁴ This seemingly strange appendix has been already commented on (see on vii. 11) ; it is only strange as long as we adhere to the view that מצרים must mean 'Egypt,' and אשור 'Assyria.' If Mišrim and Asshur are geographically neighbours, and still more if Mišrim is, strictly speaking, a part of Asshur, there is nothing startling in it at all. The general result is that Israel's liberation from N. Arabia in the past is paralleled by its renewed subjugation by N. Arabia in the present. That, at least, is Hosea's representation, and we must remember that he is thinking specially of the Israel of the N. Arabian border-land.

Verses 6, 7 describe how war desolates the country, and yet Israel continues in its religious perversity. The text of v. 7, according to Harper, is 'desperate.' Is it really so? Let us begin our scrutiny with אל-על. This reminds us very much of another 'desperate case' in vii. 16 (see note), where לא על is a corruption of ישמעאל. This word, with the addition of a preposition, is precisely what we should read here. To remove any doubt on the reader's part the earlier

¹ Cp. on לחי, *T. and B.* p. 270. Even Marti is baffled by על-לחיהם.

² G's לו is the לא which MT. gives at the head of v. 5. See next note.

³ The לא before ישוב in MT. (v. 5) has been produced by the redactor (as in v. 7 and elsewhere) out of the final אל in ירחמאל. Really לא was a correction of לי in אוריל.

⁴ The closing words of v. 5 are a poor didactic gloss (Marti).

text of Hosea gave as a gloss, *הוא אשחור ירחמאל*; *הוא*, deprived of *א*, became attached to *יקרא יחר* (so *ח*, for *יחד*), like *אחר*, can be, and here probably is, a representative of *אשחור*. *אשחור לא ירומם* comes almost certainly from *ירחמאל*, the final syllable being detached in the form *לא למשובתי* and *תלואים* still remain. The former represents *לשבעית* (the inserted *ם* is redactional); *Shab'ith* (see on *bōsheth*, ix. 10) is one of the titles of the great goddess Ashtart. The latter comes from *אחמול*, one of the current popular forms of 'Ishmael' (see p. 258); this was probably a marginal gloss on some reading which preceded *אל-על*. Thus we get—

And my people (*) to Shab'ith,
And calls unto Yerahme'el (*glosses*, Ethmol; Asshur-Yerahme'el).

So the same false worship goes on while the sword of Asshur is 'whirling' in Israel's cities. Yahweh, through his spokesman, pronounces this sin to be unpardonable.

How (utterly) will I give thee up, O Ephraim,
Abandon thee, O Israel!
How (utterly) will I make thee as Aramah (?),
Set thee as Šeboiim!

Evidently some terrible legend is referred to, though whether it is the legend which underlies Gen. xiv. is uncertain.¹ 'Aramah' is a probable conjecture; the place meant was in the S. Aramæan or Ishmaelite country, and, like so many other places mentioned in legend, had incurred the divine anger by gross immorality. Hosea (for Yahweh) says that Ephraim or Israel shall become as desolate as Aramah; its filial relation to Yahweh is abolished. Let no one criticise the variableness of Hosea's God. Yahweh, even as portrayed by the prophets, is a divine-human Being. He has human emotions, but by a grand exercise of will-power represses them. The absolutely progressive divine element predominates in him over the morally weak human element. In a true sense, therefore, Yahweh is God, not man, for in him the progressive, ethical element is supreme. Cp. Isa. xxxi. 2 *b*, 3.

¹ See *T. and B.* p. 238; *E. Bib.*, 'Admah and Zeboim.'

Shall I not work out my glowing wrath?
 Shall I not turn to destroy Israel?
 For I am El and not man;¹
 Shall I be quiet within thee, and not consume² (v. 9)?

The text of line 4 is first obscure, and then untranslatable. 'Holy in the midst of thee' also interrupts the flow of speech. The remedy is certain.

Verses 10 and 11 are not indeed Hosea's, but may be referred to here. They belong to a supplemter who misunderstands the context, and imagines that the return from exile is spoken of. But why is it said that Yahweh 'shall roar like a lion'? 'Roaring' implies some warlike intervention of Yahweh either for or against Israel. And how can the Israelites be called simply בנים, and represented as coming from the west? The earlier supplementers knew that the prophecies which they redacted spoke of a N. Arabian captivity. We should, therefore, naturally expect some reference to this in vv. 10, 11. In fact, we find such a reference quite unmistakably in v. 11, and we can hardly doubt that מים in v. 10 b is = מִיָּמֵן,³ i.e. 'from Yerahme'el' (or, 'from Ishmael'). Parallelism seems to require that N. Arabia should be referred to in v. 10 a as well, i.e. that, for נִאֲרִיהַ יִשְׁמָאֵל we should read יִשְׁמָאֵל = מֵאֲשֻׁר, 'from Ashhur-Ishmael.' I will only add that the superfluous כִּי הוּא יִשְׁמָאֵל is probably a gloss, more correctly read יִשְׁמָאֵל כִּי הוּא, 'surely it is Ishmael,' and that בנים should be בְּנֵי. Omitting the gloss, the passage should run:

אחרי יהוה ילכו
 מאשור ישמעאל
 ויחדדו בני מִיָּמֵן
 יחדדו כצפור ממצרים
 וכיונה מארץ אשור
 והשיבתים אל בתיהם⁵
 נאם יהוה

¹ I.e. 'I belong to the class of divinities, and have the divine nature.

² Read אֶחָדָה בְּקִרְבָּהּ וְלֹא אֶחָדָה. Cp. Isa. xlii. 14. אֶחָדָה is Wellhausen's (dittography). For the implied question see xiii. 14.

³ See p. 336, and *T. and B.* p. 6 (n. 3).

⁴ Cp. on שָׁאֵן, x. 14.

⁵ So Grätz, Nowack, Marti, Harper.

xii. 1-15 [xi. 12-xii. 14]. ISRAEL'S DECEITFULNESS

One of the hardest sections of the book, says Marti. This is largely due to the inconsistent applications of ancient legends. How is this inconsistency to be accounted for? One might naturally suppose that interpolation has taken place. There is, however, a still more urgent question, To what extent, if at all, has the text suffered corruption, and what remedies can be applied?

Let us begin with xii. 1 *b*. Like *v. 3 a*, the passage is a gloss because of the reference to Judah, but it needs to be more correctly understood. As *v. 3 a* shows, the glossator considers that Judah has been almost as faulty as Israel, so that when we have heard in *v. 1 a* that Israel surrounds his God with falsehood, pretending to serve him,¹ we need not be surprised if the glossator adds *ויהודה עבד ירחמאל* 'and Judah serves Yerahme'el, and practises divination with Kashram.' There are, I know, other attempts to heal the traditional text,² but they can hardly be said to have sufficient basis, whereas the critical remedy now proposed is methodically obtained, and in harmony with the surest of the results already arrived at. *עד ד* is most unsatisfactory; we should read probably *עבד*. Next as to *עם-אל*. That this cannot have come from *ירחמאל* or *ישמעאל* will be affirmed by no one who recalls similar corruptions elsewhere (see on vii. 16, xi. 7), and *נשרם* for *קדושים* is not only supported by parallels, but in itself one of the most probable of the suggestions derivable from the N. Arabian theory (see on viii. 10). Kashram, in fact, equally with Peleth or rather Ethbal, was famous for religious and more particularly magic lore. In Gen. xiv. 7 an Asshurite place is mentioned by the twofold name Enmishpat and Kadesh; the former name signifies 'fountain of judgment,' and the latter is miswritten for *נשרם*.³ The narrator, that is, means a place where those skilled in supernatural science sat in judgment. Such wise men, however, did not limit their activity to the N. Arabian

¹ Really the Israelites confounded Yahweh with the imperfectly moralised god Yerahme'el.

² See Marti and Harper.

³ Cp. *T. and B.* p. 242.

border-land. Like the Yerahme'elite priests and soothsayers in general, they journeyed into Judah and no doubt also into N. Israel. In Isa. ii. 6 (true text) Ethbalite diviners are expressly referred to as found in Judah, and in the list of the representatives of the higher classes in Jerusalem in Isa. iii. 1-3 we find (adopting very probable corrections) חכם חשרם, 'wise man of Hashram (= Kashram).'

The first part of xii. 2 is really the sequel of *v.* 1 *a*. After this a new stanza should begin¹; it states in what way the house of Israel lies to Yahweh; it is by contracting alliances which are inconsistent with trust in the true Yahweh (cp. Isa. xxviii. 15 *b*, xxx. 1). The powers which are approached by Israel are of course Mišrim and Aššur. It is true, the Amarna Tablets show that oil was sent as a present from Palestine to Egypt; but what follows? Was there so much oil in Mišrim that a present of it from the Israelites of the Negeb would be useless?

Verse 3 *a*, like *v.* 1 *b*, is a Judaite gloss, the insertion of which involved the change of the original reading וְאֶמְקֹד into וְלִפְקֹד. With this Marti couples the supposed change of עַל-יִשְׂרָאֵל into יִשְׂבִּי לוֹ. This however, appears to be an error. Parallels elsewhere show that יִשְׂבִּי, יִשְׁבִּי, יִשְׁבִּי sometimes represent יִשְׁבֵּל = יִשְׁמַעְאֵל, the mark of abbreviation being omitted. We have also found again and again that לֹא or לוֹ may represent the final אֵל of an ethnic so that יִשְׁבִּי לוֹ may easily represent an original יִשְׁמַעְאֵל. But what right has 'Ishmael' here? None. It must have ousted עַל-יִשְׂרָאֵל. That is, there was once a form of text of *v.* 3 *b* in which עַל-יִשְׂרָאֵל was followed by יִשְׁבֵּאֵל; the scribe, misled by the resemblance between יִשְׁבֵּאֵל and יִשְׂרָאֵל, omitted the latter word together with עַל, while יִשְׁבֵּאֵל became יִשְׁבֵּל = יִשְׁבִּי לוֹ. What purpose, then, did יִשְׁמַעְאֵל serve. It was a gloss on בֶּטֶן [ב], *v.* 4, which means, as we shall see, not '[in] the womb,' but '[in] Beṭon,'² Beṭon (?), with which cp. בִּטְנִים, appears to come from אִשְׁבֵּל = אִשְׁמַעְאֵל. To this, however, we must return presently. Suffice it now to observe (after Marti) that the third stanza should begin thus:

I will therefore punish Jacob according to his ways,
Israel according to his doings.

¹ See Marti.

² The vocalisation is uncertain.

Verses 4 and 5 have been very grievously misunderstood. There is no doubt a reference to the legendary wrestling-match in Gen. xxxii. But it is a mistake to suppose that in the true text of Hosea there is an allusion to any birth-story, whether that in Gen. xxv. 26 or any other, for *בֵּתֹן*, as we have seen, is a corruptly written place-name. I see no use in controverting the various current interpretations of the MT.—all equally unsatisfactory. The only possible course is to apply a keener textual criticism, reminding ourselves, however, first of all (1) that the Israelites, as has been shown, worshipped a divine company which included Ashhur (or Asshur) and Yerahme'el, (2) that the latter name appears sometimes as Mal'ak,¹ (3) that On (whence Ono) is a characteristically N. Arabian name, and (4) that there was in the N. Arabian border-land a place called Beth-on, not far probably from Beth-el (see on iv. 15). If we now apply a searching criticism, and separate the original text from glosses, we shall probably arrive at this result (cp. *T. and B.* pp. 398-403):

In Beth-on he used a trick² with Ashhur,³
In Ono he strove with Elohim.

[*Gloss* 1. He strove with Mal'ak (= Yerahme'el) and prevailed;

He wept, and made supplication to him.

Glosses 2 and 3. Beth-el (*ⲙ* Beth-on) of Ishmael; Arabia of Ishmael],⁴

We see here that Hosea did not venture to tamper with the early legend which spoke of a divinity named Ashhur, to whose worship, however, he was of course opposed. We also notice 'that even in the time of the glossator the geography of the old legend was understood, and further, that the identity of the divine antagonist of Jacob with

¹ *T. and B.* pp. 58-60, 279.

² *Ibid.* p. 399.

³ *אחור* from *אשחור*, *ibid.* pp. 152, 275. *אחור* and *אלהים* are not parallel.

⁴ *יִשְׁמָעֵל* may come from *יִשְׁמָעֵל* (Isa. xxxv. 7), *i.e.* Šib'on or Ishmael; *שם* from *שָׁמָן*, *i.e.* Ishmael, a variant (see on vi. 7). *יְרֵחַ* in *יְרֵחַ* comes from *ע* in one of the older scripts; *עָמְנוּ* from one of the corrupt forms of *יִשְׁמָעֵל* (see on Isa. vii. 14).

Mal'ak (= Yerahme'el) was realised. The reference to "weeping and making supplication" shows that the legend had begun to be spiritualised; the striving had now become a great upheaval of the spirit in prayer.' The genuine couplet ('In Beth-on' etc.) completes the third stanza.

Turning to *v.* 6, we must, I think, agree that it is not a continuation of *v.* 5. The writer appears to mean that it was no inferior or subordinate divine Being with whom in a spiritualistic sense Jacob strove, but Yahweh himself, Yahweh 'the God of Hosts.' It is most unlikely that the glossator knew that this divine title was a transformation of a N. Arabian compound divine name, and that consequently there was a special suitability in its mention here. But it is the fact. See on Amos *v.* 27.

Verses 8, 9 *a* should supply the material for a fourth stanza, continuing the description of Ephraim's shiftiness, and adding a fresh example. The Ephraimites may indeed be rich, but their mode of self-enrichment is the Canaanitish, or, one might say, the Phœnician. Verse 8 *b* is evidently miswritten. לְעֵשֶׂק אֲהַב, 'he loves to oppress,' is unsuitable. Surely parallels elsewhere¹ suggest to us to read לְאַשְׁחֹרִי אֲהַב, 'with reference to Ashhur of Ah'ab.' What we have here is in fact a geographical gloss on כְּנָעַן, 'Canaan,'² which agrees with the (virtual) statement in Zeph. ii. 5 (MT.) that Canaan is 'the land of the Pelishtim'; 'Pelishtim,' as explained elsewhere, is a constant error for 'Pelethim' or rather 'Ethbalim' (Ishmaelites). The 'Canaanites,' then, who dwelt in Ashhur, were merchants, as indeed it stands to reason that many of the N. Arabians must have been, and, as is expressly attested by Ezek. xxvii. 23, 'the merchants of Sheba, Asshur, Rakmal' (so read, for 'Kilmad'). Note that stanza 4 may be imperfect.

Stanza 5 is found by Marti in *v.* 12. Possibly, however, his first line should be arranged as two lines, for עַל-תְּלַמִּי שָׂדֵי, which forms Marti's fourth line, must certainly be explained as in *x.* 4; *i.e.* we should read אֶל-תְּמֹל כְּשָׂרִים, 'to Ishmael

¹ See on הַבְּרִי, iv. 17, and (for עֵשֶׂק) cp. the clan-name עֵשֶׂק, 1 Chr. viii. 39, close to אֵשֶׁק from (יִרְחַמָּאֵל).

² On the southern Canaan, see *D. and F.* pp. 94 *f.*; *T. and B.* pp. 85, 175, 475, 550.

of Kashram,' which is a gloss on שדה ארם in *v.* 13. Certainly the stanza is much more effective if we fix its close at גלים.

Two other points in xii. 12 have also escaped Marti's attention. 1. He thinks (like Nowack) that אִם in גלעד is wrong, and that it has supplanted an original ב before גלעד. But the existence of אִם ought at any rate to be accounted for, and Marti's explanation is inadequate. The combination of 'Aram' and 'Gilead' in *vi.* 7 *f.* suggests a solution as natural as it is easy, viz. that אִם (אִם) is the short for אִרָם. 2. Shortly after, the MT. is thought to mean, 'in Gilgal they sacrifice bullocks (שָׁוִים),' but a plural of שָׁוִי occurs nowhere else, and why should the sacrificing of bullocks be specially sinful? Since B appears not to have read שָׁוִים but שָׁרִים, *i.e.* not to recognise י, most recent critics¹ correct into לְשָׁרִים, 'to the demigods' (or, 'demons'; Wellh. 'devils'). The meaning, however, is not suitable enough, and even the existence of such a word as שָׁרִים is doubtful. I have examined the question elsewhere,² and arrived at the conclusion that the right reading is שָׁוִים = אֲשֻׁרִים, 'Asshurs,' *i.e.* 'images of Asshur.' An initial ל should, of course, be restored; so far we must all agree with Hitzig. The stanza will then run thus—

Aram-Gilead is wickedness,
They (*i.e.* the Gileadites) are nought but vanity :
In Gilgal they sacrifice to Asshurs,
Their altars in turn shall become heaps.

Really, of course, these 'Asshur-images' were not regarded as mere images; the god Asshur dwelt mystically in each of them—the very god (or man-god) with whom Jacob had wrestled. Hence the need for annihilating both Asshur's images and Asshur's altars; they were divinized, and had supernatural power.³ 'Their altars shall become heaps.'

Verses 13, 14 interrupt the context, and in *v.* 14 Yahweh is spoken of in the third person. Evidently they are a later insertion. The meaning, however, is very obscure, and though I might avoid the problem—the passage not being

¹ Hitzig, Wellh., Nowack, Marti, Harper, etc.

² *D. and F.* pp. 160 *f.*

³ *Ibid.* pp. 27, 114.

Hosea's—I will venture to state what appears to me extremely probable. באשה, 'for a wife,' has come from באשור, *i.e.* באשור, and this is parallel to שדה ארם, 'the highland of Aram'; and for שמר, 'he kept,' we should read נשמר,¹ 'he was kept' (as in *v.* 14). That Jacob fled into the land of the sons of Rekem (= Yerahme'el), we know from Gen. xxix. 1; and from Gen. xxxi. 20 that Laban (for whom Jacob laboured) was an 'Arammite' (= Yerahme'elite); it is also a fact that Ashhur-Aram (= Hashram or Kashram) is a N. Arabian regional name. So much for *v.* 13. The text of *v.* 14 seems to be correct. The two verses should be taken together; they are parallel. Just as Jacob-Israel served in Asshur-Aram (cp. the misplaced gloss in *v.* 12), so his Israelite descendants served in the N. Arabian Mišrim. Both Israels happily escaped—the latter by the agency of a prophet (Moses). Thus Jacob with Laban is a type of Israel in Mišrim, and the Exodus of Israel is a type of the future deliverance of the Israelites from the lands of their exile. Verses 13 and 14, then, belong together, and are a continuation of *vv.* 10, 11, just as *v.* 15 continues *v.* 12. Verse 15 is a keenly expressed statement of Ephraim's guilt and the inevitable punishment. The text is both imperfect and corrupt. Prof. Marti may be right in reading נמרורי; cp. *καὶ παρώργισεν*. Possibly, however, a place-name lurks under תמרורים; Hosea several times emphasises his condemnation of Israel's cultus by mentioning one or another of the chief N. Arabian sanctuaries where it was carried on. בית ארמים suggests itself as possible.

xiii. 1—xiv. 1.—CAN ISRAEL BE REGENERATED?

The opening of the section is obscure. The sense usually extracted from the text of *v.* 1 is not altogether probable, and the implied distinction between 'Ephraim' and 'Israel' is against Hosea's practice. Some light may be derived from the previous statement in xi. 1, 2, that when Israel was young, Yahweh loved him, but that in base ingratitude Israel sacrificed to the Baalim. Hosea repeats himself so much (cp. xi. 1 *b*, xiii. 4 *a*, xi. 2 *b*, xiii. 4) that we may well

¹ *T. and B.* p. 357.

suppose the original text of xiii. 1 to have been something like this, 'When Israel was young, he went after me; I magnified him, and he was exalted, but he incurred guilt by Baal.' There must, however, have been some express reference to Israel's conquests in the N. Arabian border-land, and it is possible that the text still preserves traces of such a reference. *יִשְׁמָאֵל*, for instance, probably comes from *הוּא יִתְמָאֵל*, 'it is Yithma'el (= Ishmael),' a correction of the preceding '*Yisrael*,'¹ for which there is a parallel in *אֵל-יִשְׂרָאֵל*, Dt. xxxiii. 6, which I have discussed elsewhere.² The latter part of *v. 1* should therefore run—

And he was exalted in Ishmael,
But he became guilty by Baal.

It is remarkable, too, that in *v. 1 a*, the improbable *נָתַח* is represented in *Θ* by *δικαιώματα*, *i.e.* *דָּת*, which most probably comes from *תָּר*, the short for *אֲשֶׁתֶּר*, Ashtar (cp. *D. and F.* p. 166). Now, Ashtar (= Ashhur) is certainly a N. Arabian regional.³

Israel, then, began his career by victories in the N. Arabian border-land (here called Ashtar and Ishmael). This was a proof of his God's loving-kindness, but was all in vain, for Israel forgot Yahweh (*v. 6 b*), and became guilty by Baal. Such was, probably, the meaning of the original first stanza.

The second strophe is not less difficult. Marti would omit all from *מִנְסַפִּים* to *נָלָה* as a late substitute for two stichi of the original text. This is hardly satisfactory, though better than retaining the MT. as a part of the strophe. What we have to do is to find the text which must underlie the unsatisfactory traditional text. I venture to think that this can be accomplished. What still preoccupies Hosea is the disgraceful copy of Yerahme'elite religion furnished by fickle Israel. What is it, then, which is most characteristic of this religion? is it not magic and divination? If even Judah abounds with N. Arabian diviners, how much more must the Israelite territory in N. Arabia itself be full of the adepts of these arts! It will now be easy to imagine that *מִנְסַפִּים*

¹ In fact, 'Israel' and 'Ishmael' are several times confounded (*e.g.* 2 S. xvii. 25). See p. 248.

² *D. and F.* p. 168.

³ *Ibid.* p. 93.

comes from מְנַשְׁפִּים and כְּתוּבִים from תְּמוּלִים (תְּמוּל = יִשְׁמַעְאֵל). Parallelism suggests further, for מְנַשְׁפִּים, מַעֲשֵׂה (cp. מַחֲשִׁיאוֹ beside מַעֲשִׂיאוֹ), and, for חֲרָשִׁים (cp. 1 Chr. iv. 14), אֲשַׁחֲרוּרִים [כ]. The superfluous עֲצָבִים is a gloss on מַסְנָה; כָּלָה comes from הִבֵּל, 'vanity,' another gloss, relating to מַנְחָשִׁים.

But *v.* 2 *b* has caused even more 'searchings of heart.' The differences among critics are wide. It is unnecessary to record them in full, but it may be mentioned that while Harper thinks זִבְחֵי אָדָם impossible, Marti is willing to retain it, but joins it to what (according to him) precedes, viz. הֵם אֲמָרִים, thus producing the sense, 'they are (no better than) Amorites, sacrificers of men.' לָהֶם is certainly troublesome, but Marti¹ expands it into אֱלֹהִים לָהֶם אֲמָרִים, 'God, they say to them,' and then deletes it as 'secondary.' עֲגָלִים יִשְׁקֹן, however, he retains, and so does Harper (but prefixing אָדָם). Harper also has the courage to convert זִבְחֵי into עֲבָחִים and לְשָׂרִים. I will now ask leave to mention my own conclusions. I am convinced that לָהֶם should be deleted, and I account for it as an expanded dittograph of the preceding לָהֶם. הֵם (as Marti might have seen) introduces a gloss. אֲמָרִים should be אֲרָמִים, and the rest of the passage should be read זִבְחֵי אָדָם לְעֲגָלִים יִקְרִיבוּן. Putting these results together, and including, for convenience, the glosses, I read the whole passage (xiii. 2) thus :

And now they sin still further,
They have made for themselves molten images (*gloss*, idols);
They use augury like the Ishmaelites,
They observe omens (*gloss*, vainly) like the Ashhurites.
(*Gloss*, They are the Arammites; sacrifices of Aram they present to calf-gods.)

In xiii. 4-11 we are told of the alteration in Yahweh consequent on the changed attitude of Israel. 'It was I who tended thee² in the wilderness, | in the land of —.' These are the first two lines of a quatrain. It is plausible to render the second 'in the land of drought,' explaining תִּלְאָבֶרֶת (which occurs only here) from the Arabic (see *BDB*,

¹ After Stade and Nowack.

² ὁ, ἐποιμαίνων σε = רעייתך (Wellh., Grätz, G. A. Smith, Harper, Marti).

s.v.) as 'thirstiness' or 'stoniness.' **Ⲫ**, however, has to guess at its meaning (*ἐν γῇ ἀοικήσας*), and we may infer that in **Ⲫ**'s time there was no tradition of such a word ; in fact, the word is certainly corrupt. The original text probably had **תובאל** (cp. **שובאל**, 1 Chr. xxiv. 20, xxv. 20), which, like **תובל**, comes from **אתבאל** = **ישמעאל**. It is the wilderness of Asshur or Ishmael that is spoken of. Israel would have fared ill there but for its divine Shepherd. But 'his heart was lifted up,' and having left Yahweh, he had no protection from the wild beasts of the nations. At this point one of those minor riddles occurs which try the mettle of the critics. In v. 7 *b* the A.V. renders, 'as a leopard by the way will I observe (them) ;' the pointed text has **כְּנֶמֶר עַל-דֶּרֶךְ אַשּׁוּר**. But **שׁוּר** does not mean 'to observe,' but simply 'to look,' and 'I will look' is plainly unsuitable. One may therefore be tempted to read **אַשּׁוּר**, appealing in support of this to **Ⲫ**, Pesh., Vg., as well as to some Hebrew MSS. and editions. But 'on the way to Asshur' is not possible, and though Harper defends it by a reference to **שָׁם**, 'there,' in v. 8, yet the 'devouring' of Israel was certainly not to be either on the way to Asshur or even in Asshur. **אַשּׁוּר** must therefore be wrong ; the right reading (cp. Jer. v. 6) is doubtless **אֶשְׁקֹד**, 'I will watch.'¹

It looks, therefore, as if we were in a dilemma. 'There will I devour them as a lion' seems to refer to some preceding regional name, but no such name exists. Meinhold and Marti evade the difficulty by deleting **שָׁם**. A better remedy is suggested by our experience of parallel corruptions elsewhere and in one point by the principal ancient version. **Ⲫ**, in fact, does not recognise **כלביא** ; the Hebrew text presupposed by it is **וַאֲנִלָּם שָׁם כְּפִירֵי יַעַר**. But if we delete **כלביא**, can we account for its presence in MT.? We can if we have previously explained **שָׁם**. As has already been pointed out (see on ii. 17), **שָׁם** is sometimes a shortened form of **ישמן**, i.e. **ישמעאל**, and on this analogy **כלביא** may be made up of the transposed letters of **יבבאל**, i.e. **ירחמאל**. These results are to be taken in connexion with **Ⲫ**'s **שָׁם כְּפִירֵי יַעַר**. **יער** is a mere guess and altogether superfluous. The text must originally have had **כְּפִירֵי יִשְׁמָן**, but there was a variant **יבבאל**, the second word of which, under the form **יבבאל**

¹ So Brüll, Grätz, Marti, etc.

(redacted into כלבִּיא), found its way into the MT. The first line of the quatrain represented by vv. 8 b, 9 should therefore run,—

And the young lions of Ishmael (*variant*, Yerahme'el) shall devour them.

Of course, the 'Ishmael' spoken of is the wilderness referred to in v. 5.

xiii. 12—xiv. 1.—ISRAEL'S END

In heart-rending words Hosea expresses his dark view of the future. Israel needs to be born again. Indeed, the pains of birth have actually come on, but Israel has not the moral wisdom and strength to do what has to be done at the critical moment. How should Yahweh interpose to deliver one so worthless? Rather he will hasten the awful end by summoning Death and Sheol (cp. Isa. xxviii. 15) to work their full havoc; repentance and compassion cannot be thought of. And then comes a strange passage which seems to recognise Ephraim as one of the brother-tribes, whereas elsewhere (xiii. 1 is no exception) Ephraim is equivalent to Israel. 'Though he be fruitful among brethren (בֵּין אֲחֵים),' is the expression, and few will deny that it is a very unnatural one. Feeling this, Prof. Oort and Marti would read בֵּין אֲחוּ, 'between reeds' (cp. Gen. xli. 2; Isa. xix. 7), while Wellhausen and Harper prefer בֵּין פִּים אֲחוּ. Against this let it be noticed, (1) that unless something in the context suggested a comparison of Ephraim or Israel to reed-plants rather than to some noble tree, we are hardly entitled to assume that Hosea did so; (2) that Wellhausen's form of the correction is bold in itself and makes too long a line; (3) that (not to anticipate with regard to Isa. xix. 7) in Gen. xli. 2 it was originally not 'among the reeds' (בְּאֲחוּ) that the seven cows were represented as feeding, but 'by the asshur trees¹' (בְּאֲשֻׁרוֹ = באשחורִי). The 'ashhur-tree' (called also asshur and te'asshur) must have constituted a great feature of the N. Arabian landscape.² And the best explanation of Hos. xiii. 15 known to me is one suggested by the (probably) true text of ix. 13 (see note), where Ephraim is compared to

¹ *T. and B.* pp. 457 f.

² *D. and F.* pp. 113 f.

an asshur-tree. The true meaning of our difficult clause, therefore, probably is, 'though he (*i.e.* the southern Ephraim¹) be fruitful among ashhur-trees.' The type of textual corruption supposed here is of frequent occurrence (see on v. 8, and *T. and B.* p. 458). It should also be noticed that in the following chapter the imagery is probably taken from the N. Arabian highlands.²

The latter part of v. 13 (from *דורא* onwards) is troublesome in the MT. It runs 'he shall plunder the treasure of all precious vessels,' the subject appears to be *קדים*, 'the east wind.' Now the east wind is not usually said to plunder treasures. Marti replies that the invader is meant. But a reference to the depredations of the Asshurites would be out of place here, and would unduly anticipate xiv. 1 (see below). All that is admissible in this context would be a further development of the figure of the tree, for which, however, the quatrain scarcely has room.

The last stanza relates, scarcely to Shōmerōn or Samaria, but to an important city in the N. Arabian Israelite territory, Shimrōn, which, we are told, 'shall be laid waste' (xiv. 1, reading *תשם*).³ A gloss superfluously tells us why. Then follow a few details. First, 'they shall fall by the sword.' Then, according to the text, atrocities are perpetrated on young children and pregnant women. We have seen, however (on x. 14; Am. i. 3, 13) that the worst of the barbarities which seem to be mentioned generally owe their origin to textual corruption. So it most probably is with the barbarities towards children here and in Nah. iii. 10; Ps. cxxxvii. 9, and towards pregnant women here and in Am. i. 13; 2 K. xv. 16. Of course, we could not presume arbitrarily to soften the doom pronounced on the guilty city. But taking this together with parallel passages we are justified, with the help of methodical criticism, in restoring it thus:

הִכְלִיחֵם יִבְתְּשׁוּ The palaces shall be subverted,
וְקִרְיֹתֵי יִבְקְעוּ And their cities taken.⁴

¹ Cp. on Am. vi. 1-7.

² On the southern Lebanon see *T. and B.* p. 457; *D. and F.* pp. 136, 150.

³ *Θ*, ἀφανισθήσεται; cp. on x. 2.

⁴ *היכלים* from *עוללים*, as in Nah., Ps., like *מאילים* in ix. 6. *הריות* (a strange form) from *קריית*, as *הרות* in Am. and 2 K. (cp. *Crit. Bib.*).

xiv. 2-9.—SUMMONS TO REPENT, AND PROMISE OF
FORGIVENESS AND PROSPERITY

The tone is very different from Hosea's, and reminds one of later supplements (*e.g.* Jer. xxxi. 9-21). The mixture of images, too, is like nothing in the work of our prophet.¹ It is, however, in one respect a not unsuitable appendix—that the writer not only has assimilated Hosea's thoughts, but also shows a comprehension of the N. Arabian references of the prophet. It seems worth while, therefore, to suggest remedies for the corruptions by which the text is disfigured. In *v.* 6 *b* we should certainly omit כלבנון, which has intruded from *v.* 7 *b*, with Wellhausen, Nowack, and Marti. But whether כלבנון is the *original* reading in *v.* 7 *b* is doubtful; כלבונה would be more natural (so, after Tg., Newcome, Grätz, Cheyne in *Crit. Bib.*); for the rest see the commentators. Verse 8 has not yet been fully corrected. To read וישבר instead of ישרי, and צלי for צלו is no doubt simple. יחיו דגן is impossible, but יריו ד' (Θ, μετστθήσονται) is not very good. Remembering that יחיו (which is hardly distinguishable from יחיו) sometimes conceals הוה, and that ו often drops out, I venture to propose as a correction הוה רענן, *i.e.* ירחמאל.² הוה רענן being often miswritten for רעמן, *i.e.* רחמאל.² The phrase proposed will be a gloss, 'that is, Ra'aman (Yerahme'el),' and will refer to the phrase אנשכר, which will be restored directly.

Let me briefly explain. According to the MT., the forgiven Israelites 'shall flourish like the vine; his renown shall be as the wine of Lebanon.' Grätz and Halévy think to mend this by reading 'the wine of Helbon' (Ezek. xxvii. 18). That, however, is a mere trifle; it is זכרו which deserves the close scrutiny of the critic, both because of the unexpected suffix, and because of the unsuitableness of זכרו. Moreover, if we could but heal the corruption, it would possibly throw a fresh light on the whole passage. In my opinion the wish can be gratified. The case of זכרו is closely parallel to that of זבול. Just as זבול comes from אנשכר, so one can hardly doubt that זכר³ comes from אנשכר,

¹ See Marti.² See *D. and F.* p. 113.³ The suffix ו should be prefixed to כיין.

which is the name of a district of N. Arabia.¹ 'Vine of Ashkar' is like 'vine of Sorek' (Isa. v. 2), 'vine of Bokek (?)', Hos. x. 1. And now we understand the gloss; Ashkar and Ra'aman are equivalent.

The quatrain, therefore, or what we have of it, should run thus:

They shall return and dwell in my shadow,

They shall flourish as the vine of Ashkar,
And as the wine of Helbon . . .

Verse 9 also calls for renewed scrutiny. לִי should of course be לָךְ; that is a mere trifle. But what is עֲבִירִי? Wellhausen suggests as possible עֲבִירִי וְאַשְׁרָה, 'his Anath and his Asherah,' an improbable, cryptic reference to the names of deities. I would suggest in preference עֲבִירִי וְאַשְׁמֹרֶת, 'I have answered him and will deliver him,' and I am confirmed in the belief that this is right by finding that the next line of the quatrain, which is evidently corrupt, can be easily, and without arbitrary neglect of method, corrected so as to accord with this emendation. Let us, then, look at the line referred to. In the MT. it runs thus,—אֲנִי כְבֹּרֶשׁ רֵעֵן, 'I am like a green (?) cypress,' which Marti retains, explaining, 'It is I, Yahweh, who give Israel refreshment, like the shade of a green cypress.' But, as it seems to me, with the Jewish repugnance to tree-worship no writer would have compared Yahweh even to the mightiest of trees. Attempts (see Marti) to restore the true text have not, I think, been quite satisfactory. The greatest longing of the Jewish heart was to dwell in a land free from the heathen and from heathenism. Jerusalem would be 'holy,' only when 'no strangers passed through her any more' (Joel iv. 17; cp. Isa. xxxv. 8, lii. 1). Looking back to Hosea's time, and writing as Hosea (he thought) might have written, it was natural for the supplementer to whom xiv. 2-9 is due to announce the speedy disappearance of the danger from Asshur.² Hence the propriety of the proposed correction אֲנִי בְּאַשּׁוּר אֶגֶר, 'I will rebuke Asshur.' The parallel line, however, can hardly be left as it stands,

¹ *T. and B.* p. 380.

² Asshur has already been mentioned in *v.* 4.

ממני פריך נמצא. Nor is it enough to change a suffix and read פריך. 'As coming from me is his fruit found' is the reverse of natural. Read rather, ממני לפך נמצא, 'through me a ransom is found'; cp. Job xxxviii. 24. The meaning may be like that of Isa. xliii. 3 *f.*, *i.e.* that other peoples will be given up to Asshur in place of Israel. If so, the complete extinction of Asshur is not the prospect before the writer. Asshur will continue to exist (cp. *v.* 4), but will not be dangerous to Israel. Indeed, another late writer (Isa. xix. 24 *f.*) goes further, and anticipates that Asshur, Misrim, and Israel will form a triple alliance, hallowed by a common religion.

7. ISAIAH SECTION

No prophet has had more attention bestowed upon his works than Isaiah, and I am desirous at the outset to express my admiration for my predecessors. No change of opinion on my part will weaken my sense of obligation to them. I trust that the next commentator will be not less wide in his sympathies than I feel that I am myself. And now to my task. It is well to study Isaiah's work after that of the two earlier prophets Amos and Hosea, to whom he appears to owe so much. Our study of these has given us a certain experience which will enable us to step more firmly in the much disputed and supremely important field of Isaiah. I need not delay long on the heading (Isa. i. 2), which mentions Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah as the kings in whose 'days' (or period) Isaiah prophesied. The same chronological note appears in Hos. i. 1; Am. i. 1, however, only specifies Uzziah in connexion with the prophet of Tekoa. All that we can gather from these notices is that in the time of a late redactor Hosea and Isaiah were regarded by students of the prophecies as contemporary, while Amos was thought to be rather older. An attempt has been made (*E. Bib.*, 'Isaiah, Prophet') to clothe the dry bones of Isaiah's biography with living flesh from a sympathetic study of suggestive narratives and discourses, and side by side with this to sketch the varied developments

of Isaianic criticism. Elsewhere, too, a partial re-arrangement of all the prophecies in the so-called Book of Isaiah, according to a revised text, was ventured upon, with justificatory notes, and other works by the same author, elucidating the criticism and exegesis of Isaiah, might be referred to, did I not fear to overtax the patience of the reader. What I cannot avoid mentioning here is partly corrective of earlier works, partly supplementary.

It will, I think, soon become manifest that the effect of the new evidence here presented is to show still further that the writer-prophets known to us were fully cognizant of the varied perils impending from N. Arabia. I will begin my collection of facts, not with Isaiah's earliest work, but with a striking composition which seems to have been prefixed to a shorter Book of Isaiah consisting of chaps. ii.-xxxiii. (or xxxv.). I refer to chap. i., but may remark, by anticipation, that *v.* 28 is only a redactional link connecting *vv.* 2-27 with *vv.* 29-31 and ii. 2-4. *Vv.* 2-27, however, cannot safely be denied to Isaiah altogether, though they seem to represent different periods (not all equally trying), and may perhaps have been composed by a gifted disciple of Isaiah on the basis of notes of his master's discourses.

Verses 5-9 most probably describe the horrors of a N. Arabian Asshurite incursion; the Asshurites were specially dreaded¹ for their cruelty and warlike prowess. It is just such an inroad as is referred to in the language of prediction in viii. 7 *f.* and elsewhere. The prophet points in deep emotion to the desolated landscape all around, though Jerusalem has escaped, yet how forlorn a spectacle does she present! Was the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah much worse?²

And the daughter Zion is left | like a booth in a vineyard,
Like a lodge in a cucumber-field | . . .
Except Yahweh Šeba'oth | had left us some escaped ones,
We had almost been as Sodom, | we had resembled
Gomorrah.

It will be noticed that כעיר בצורה in *l.* 2 is untranslated. We have now to account for the words. That they are

¹ *v.* 26-30, *x.* 12-14. Cp. *D. and F.* pp. 41-43.

² Note the mitigating word 'almost.'

corrupt is certain; 'like a watched city' is intolerable.¹ We cannot doubt that they cover over something which is either the original reading, or a gloss which has supplanted that reading, and we may hope to restore the true words if we can find similar corruptions elsewhere, which we are able to heal. Our quest is not unsuccessful. As for כעיר, a similar corruption, אריוך, occurs in Gen. xiv. 1, where it has come from אשכר;² we know, too, that אחר in the traditional text frequently represents אשחר. It is not too bold, therefore, to correct כעיר into אשכר. Nor shall we sin against analogy (see below) if we trace נצורה to צבענה, or rather to צבען, for the fem. form נצורה seems due to the redactor, עיר being feminine. 'Ashkar' and 'Sib'on' will be glosses, informing us that the זרים, 'strangers,' in v. 7 come from Ashkar (= Ashhur) or Sib'on³ (= Ishmael). Asshur or Ashhur (the land of the invaders) was, in fact, in the larger sense of the word Ishmaelite or Yerahme'elite. This solution of an old and perplexing problem is, I admit, not so plausible at first sight as some other solutions of analogous enigmas. It becomes convincing only when we have, with open minds, appropriated the new textual point of view, and continuously for a length of time applied it in Old Testament study. I have still to add a parallel for נצורה, viz. נצרים in Jer. iv. 16, which Duhm unsuitably emends into נמרים, 'leopards,' but which should rather be צבענים or צפוניים, i.e. 'Ishmaelites.'⁴ One word more about the prophet's extremely gloomy view of the situation. He exaggerates, perhaps under the influence of the eschatological myth (cp. xvii. 6, xxx. 17 b; Am. iii. 12). See p. 17.

Let us now return to the prophetic fragment, i. 29-31. What the complete prophecy contained we can but conjecture. Some part of it, however, may have been an attack on the foreign elements in Judaite religion, which would lead on naturally to a denunciation of the mountain-and tree-cultus (cp. Hos. iv. 13; Dt. xii. 2; Isa. lvii. 5), and

¹ 'Like a tower of watch' (Hitzig, etc.) would suit the context, but puts great violence on the Hebrew. נצורה, 'watch,' is not known to exist.

² *T. and B.* p. 234; cp. p. 380.

³ *Ibid.* p. 425.

⁴ There were far-off as well as near Ishmaelites. Jeremiah refers expressly to those in a 'far-off land.'

of the secret ritual practised in groves (cp. Isa. lxv. 3, lxvi. 17).¹ At any rate, *vv.* 29 *f.* tell us of the fate in store for the ill-named sacred trees whose greenness no fountain keeps fresh; indeed, the sacred fountain itself has dried up. They assure us also that the misguided worshippers shall suffer a like fate. And if we open our eyes we shall see that the N. Arabian origin of this tree-ritual is not ignored. The improbability of חֲסֹן ('strong one') and פִּעֵל ('his maker') was seen by Lagarde,² but his corrections are not quite satisfactory.³ It is not the god Baal-ḥamman (*i.e.* his image) who is to be burned, but the glory of the people which has been Judah's teacher in religion. The fate of the heathenish Judaïtes has been announced; next—at the close of the prophecy—comes that of their teacher. חֲסֹן has come from חֲסֹר, *i.e.* חֲסֹר = חֲשֹׁר, a popular abbreviation of אֲשַׁחֵר אֲרָם,⁴ and פִּעֵל (the ו is redactional) from אֲתַבֵּעַל, a popular form of יִשְׁמַעְאֵל; נִצְוֶן should rather be נַעֲצוֹן, 'thorns' (Ruben).

The closing stanza therefore becomes:

And Hashram shall become tow, | and Ethbaal thorns,
And theyshall both burn together, | with none to quench them.

Hashram and Ethbaal are both used here in the narrower sense; cp. Isa. lxvi. 17, where read בְּתוֹךְ אֲשַׁחֵר, 'in the midst of Ashḥur' (the groves spoken of are in N. Arabia). The burning of the glory of Ashḥur or Ishmael (the distinction between which is purely rhetorical) is again announced in x. 16-18.

Yet even for N. Arabia a revival of the most astonishing kind was imagined. The description of this is contained in ii. 2-4 (Mic. iv. 1-3), to which Mic. iv. 4 should be added. Of the contents I shall have to speak presently. A preliminary question has now to be asked, Does this remarkable passage (without Mic. iv. 4) rightfully introduce ii. 5 (6)-22? or should it (with Mic. iv. 4) be treated as a late appendix to Isa. i. 29-31? The latter view is undoubtedly correct. The passage is eschatological, and comforting

¹ These passages may be late, but the tenacity of ancient rites is well known.

² *Semitica*, i. 5; cp. Cheyne, *SBOT*, 'Isaiah' (Heb. edition), p. 91.

³ See Marti, *ad loc.*

⁴ *D. and F.* p. 63.

eschatological passages such as ii. 2-4, xi. 1-8, xxxii. 1-5 (8)—according to Duhm a cycle of parallel poems—cannot stand at the head of prophecies, their aim being to soften the gloom of ancient prophecies for later readers. This kindly object accounts for the position of Mic. iv. 1-4, and analogy requires us to hold that the same passage, in essentials, once stood after i. 29-31. But why was it transferred in a mutilated form to its present position in Isa. ii.? The reason is not hard to divine. It was in order to fill up exactly the place of a passage at the opening of 'the word that Isaiah saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem,' which had, owing to some accident to the archetype, become effaced or illegible. Mic. iv. 4 had, for want of space, to be omitted, and the linking verse, Mic. v. 5, was recast in a shorter form.

When was the original passage written? Duhm is of the opinion that it is of the age of Isaiah, indeed that both this and the parallel passages were the work of that prophet himself. He admits, however, that if so they must belong to Isaiah's old age, and have been meant, not for the people, but for disciples, and, in general, believers, and not as direct prophecies, but as prophetic poems. In fact, Duhm considers this whole cycle of poems to be Isaiah's 'swan-song.' This is certainly a charming imagination—that Isaiah, in his old age, rose above the troubles of the present and became an enthusiastic idealist. My own reading of this and the parallel poems, however, is different. All that I can admit as possible is that the passage before us, though (as literary criticism shows) post-exilic, may have been suggested by some pre-exilic prophetic poem based on mythological tradition. This supposed pre-exilic work can have been neither Isaiah's nor Micah's, because such a bright and happy prospect would have been glaringly inconsistent with the stern and serious object of these seers of reality.

The main point of the appendix of the prophecy against the tree-cult is this—that Mount Zion shall become the greatest of the mountains; indeed, that it shall, in some strange way (*v.* 4), take the place of the sacred Paradise-mountain of mythology. But the text is far from satis-

factory, and it will be a good test of our new methods to apply them where the old ones have failed. I am, of course, not so unjust as to assert that nothing can be made of the ordinary text by an able commentator, at any rate if he knows how to apply a certain amount of gentle force. But let me quote the first quatrain of the poem, as translated from the MT. of Mic. iv. 1 ^a 1:

And it shall be at the end of the days ;
The mountain of Yahweh's house shall stand forth
Stablished on the summit of the mountains,
And it shall be uplifted above the hills.

The difficulties are mostly in line 3. Can we venture to render **בראש ההרים** 'as the highest of the mountains'? or, in other words, can we suppose a *Beth essentiae* after **נכון**? If not, the only possible rendering is that given above. But does this give a possible sense? For how can one imagine the temple-hill lifted up on the summit of a high mountain? Consequently, since a *Beth essentiae* here is impossible, we must try correction of the text, and not refuse suggestions from the N. Arabian theory.

The difficulty of **בראש** is, from our present point of view, not really a great one. There are abundant instances of the development of **ראש** (also of **רעש**) from **אִשָּׁר** (i.e. the N. Arabian Asshur), and experience further shows that **הרים** is capable of representing **ירחם** (= Yerahme'el). Similarly, for the sake of parallelism, we must look for something underneath **מגבעות** (line 4), and if our method has any value we shall no doubt be rewarded. In fact, **מגבעות** may easily have arisen, chiefly by transposition of letters, out of **באתמן** (= in Ishmael). Cp. **אשֶׁבֶן**, Gen. xxxvi. 26 ; **אתמניה** from **אתמניה** ('her images of Ishmael'), Mic. i. 7. Lines 3 and 4 thus become—

Stablished in Asshur-Yarham,
And it shall be uplifted in Ethman.

It was in anticipation of this that I remarked that a strange revival was foreseen by a late writer even for

¹ ^a S's version of Isaiah and that of Micah differ both from one another and from MT. The chief corruptions, however, arose before the oldest Greek translation or translations of the prophets.

N. Arabia. If the vision was illusory, let us compassionate and not depreciate the seer. The Negeb was the Holy Land of tradition; what was more natural (remembering Isa. xix. 23-25) than that Yahweh's temple should be transferred in the golden age to come to one of the holy sites in the Negeb? Now, it is probable (to say no more) that Asshur-Yarham (see p. 214) was the name of a mountain in the N. Arabian border-land and of a city beside or on the mountain,¹ both of which held a prominent place in religious tradition. On this mountain, possibly, it was that the visionary poet saw a new temple raised. The rest of the prophetic poem I need hardly quote. It tells how disciples and worshippers will stream to this central sanctuary in quest of religious instruction, and how in this holy place Yahweh will give decisions to the nations (obviating the necessity for weapons); in fact, the earth, freed from the disquieting dread of war, will become a second Paradise.² Here, at any rate, the text is intelligible. צִיּוֹן, however, should be צִבְעוֹן, and יְרוּשָׁלַם should be יְשַׁמְעֵאל (cp. on Amos vi. 1; Mic. i. 5 b).

It has already been pointed out that the earliest work of Isaiah is contained in the composite prophecy or poem in ii. 6-22. The most striking part of this is an imaginative description, based on mythology, of the close of the present æon—the æon which conducts, through a great final catastrophe, to restored Paradise. The opening passage, as we have seen, has disappeared, and the passage (ii. 5) which links the little transferred poem (ii. 2-4) to the longer composite work is, of course, not Isaiah's. It is probable that the great poem referred to above contained only vv. 6-10 (omitting the first part of v. 6), and 12-17.³

The first thing that we hear from the youthful prophet is that the popular religion is permeated with magic and divination, derived (as the true text surely tells us) from N. Arabia. For instance, he says, מִלֵּאז כְּמָרִים, 'they are full (*i.e.* their land is full) of *kemārīm*.' No doubt

¹ *T. and B.* p. 328; *D. and F.* pp. 27, 115 f., 143.

² Isa. ix. 4; Hos. ii. 20; Ps. xlv. 10. See Gressmann, *Eschatologie*, p. 200; Cheyne, *Intr. Is.* pp. 11 f.; *SBOT*, 'Isaiah' (Heb. ed.).

³ Certainly vv. 18, 19 f., and 21 require close critical scrutiny.

the regular priests (*kōhānīm*) were far from perfect, but the imported Yerahme'elite priests¹ (*kamre Yaman*, Job iii. 5) were worse, because the cult of Yahweh, even when adulterated, cannot have been as strongly sensuous as that of Yerahme'el. In passing, I may remark that the phrase before us has been a great stumbling-block to critics. 'They are full from the east,' is impossible. Some would insert either קָסָם or מְקָסָם (found in Ezek.) before MT.'s מְקָדָם. But considering how often elsewhere קָדָם stands for קָסָם² (*i.e.* יָרַחַם), we cannot hesitate long as to the true reading. In fact, *kemārīm* is demonstrably equivalent to Raḳmīm, *i.e.* Yarḥamites.

Then follows in MT., 'and (are) diviners like the Philistines.' But were the alien Philistines really regarded at this or any time as the religious models of the Israelites? It has been shown elsewhere³ that 'Pelishtim' and 'Pelethim' are constantly confounded, and that the latter name is a corruption of 'Ethbalim,' *i.e.* Ishmaelites. One of the five cities of the Ethbalites was Ekron, where oracles were given in the name of Baal-zebub, *i.e.* Baal of Ishmael.⁴ Indeed, it is possible that, for וְעַנְנִים, the original text had וְיִנְחָמוּ, 'and they give oracles' (Jer. xxiii. 31). One does not expect the oracles to be passed over.

The last instance is expressed in MT. untranslatably. What Isaiah really said probably was, 'and practise sorcery in the temples of Raḳman.' A Jewish scholar (Kohler) suggested יִנְחָמוּ⁵ ('practise sorcery') for the improbable יִשְׁפִּיקוּ. With this verb goes בִּלְדֵי נָנִירִים, which is not beautiful Hebrew (see Duhm), and is deeply corrupt; probably we should read בְּהִיכָלֵי רִמָּן, 'in the temples of Rakman.'⁶ For the resulting text of the whole verse and its rendering I beg to refer to *D. and F.* p. 157.

¹ See note on Hos. x. 5 and Balaam section; and *D. and F.* p. 23 (n. 4).

² *T. and B.* p. 179.

³ See *D. and F.* pp. xxi. f., 19, and on Amos i. 8.

⁴ *T. and B.* pp. 54, 144 (n. 2).

⁵ So, after Kohler, Cheyne, *E. Bib.*, col. 1961 ('Haran'); *T. and B.* p. 41 (n. 1); *SBOT*, 'Isaiah' (*ad loc.*).

⁶ Rakman is a popular corruption of Yerahme'el. See on Mic. v. 5. The linking form is Raḥman (רַחֲמָן; cp. חֲסֵן, 1 Chr. i. 41).

Other themes of denunciation are taken up in *v.* 7, viz. the abundance of silver and gold, of horses and chariots, and, lastly, of idols. There were times, then, when (if Isaiah does not exaggerate) something more precious than silver and gold abounded in Judah—horses. True, it is doubted whether horses were imported into Judah from Egypt, or from N. Syria and Cilicia, or from N. Arabia, but I hope to have shown reason for concluding that they most likely came from Muṣri in N. Arabia.¹ I have also sought to show that N. Arabia was famous among the Israelites for its chariots, and that a specially good chariot was known as an 'Ishmael-chariot.'² As for the idols, it is interesting to notice that they were of home manufacture. No wonder that they were abundant, though probably also rude. The demand for them was doubtless large, especially (as the excavations at Gezer suggest) for images of Ashtart, who was as much worshipped in Canaan as Ishtar in Babylon.³ See Introduction.

The word for 'idol'—*'elil*—deserves some scrutiny. It is commonly explained either as 'nonentity' (cp. 1 Cor. viii. 4) or as 'weak.' Prof. A. T. Clay, however, suggests that it may be a Babylonian loan-word—a shortened form of En-lil, the name of the great god of Nippur.⁴ But if neither En-lil nor Elil is attested in the O.T. as the name of a god worshipped in Canaan, how can we hold it to have been used for images of that god? If *'elil* is primarily the name of a god, it must surely be the native name of a genuine Canaanite god. It may, of course, as Clay has suspected, be a shortened name, and I have no doubt that it is so. And, as the original, one naturally thinks in the first instance of Yerahme'el. The development of אליל was of course gradual. It comes directly from אל,⁵ just as סביר, זורב, and שמש (Dan. xii. 11) are, as I have shown, developments of סב, זב, and שם respectively, which are

¹ See *Crit. Bib.* on 1 K. x. 28 f.; *T. and B.* p. 462 ff.

² *T. and B.* p. 462; *D. and F.* p. 39.

³ A hymn to Ishtar says, 'Where are not thine images produced?' Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. u. Ass.* ii. 67.

⁴ *AJSL*, xxiii. 269, cited in *AJTh.*, January 1908, p. 29.

⁵ Nöldeke too holds that אליל is a secondary formation from אל; see *BDB*, s.v.

simply fragments of short popular forms of 'Ishmael.' As for אל, it is to be explained on the analogy of בעל, which is a popular abbreviation of ירבעל, *i.e.* ירחמאל.¹ 'Elm, then, is primarily = Yerahme'el. But in the second place it is probably a term for an image of the god Yerahme'el (so in xix. 1, 3?), and in the third, stands for any idol (*e.g.* in Ps. xcvi. 5). It is surely a result of some importance that we can now understand better a difficult passage in Isa. x. 10, which, as we shall see, should probably run thus:

'As my hand has grasped the kingdoms of Yerahme'el.'

The reference is to the lesser kingdoms of the Yerahme'elite peoples in N. Arabia. The speaker is the N. Arabian Asshur personified in its king.

The grand figurative description of the Day of Yahweh begins at v. 13. I call it figurative, but do not mean to imply that the imagery is a mere poetic fiction. It is (as Gressmann has pointed out) an ancient myth which has supplied the framework of the prophecy. There was a day—fixed in the divine counsels—on which Yahweh would destroy the earth and all that lived thereon; it might be by volcanic fire (Mic. i. 3; Nah. i. 6), it might be by a deluge, or it might be by an earthquake (Isa. xiii. 13, xxiv. 18 *f.*; Hab. iii. 6). The great prophets connected them with the ideas of human pride and rebellion. It is an earthquake combined with a storm which is the form of the cosmic catastrophe imagined by Isaiah. But when Marti says that the storm comes from the north-east, because the first lofty objects to be humbled are the cedars of Lebanon and the oaks of Bashan, I am unconvinced. Cedars and oaks may be merely mentioned as types of the high and the strong (Amos ii. 9; Ps. civ. 16), and the names of Lebanon and Bashan may, like many other names, have travelled upwards from the south.² Nor is it primarily a storm, but an earthquake, in which the Divine Agent now reveals himself.

But it may perhaps be asked, How does this view

¹ *T. and B.* p. 68.

² *T. and B.* pp. 31 (n. 1), 123, 457; *D. and F.* pp. 31 (n. 1), 123, 457; *D. and F.* pp. 136, 150, and (for Bashan), 138, 143, 180.

consist with the reference to the 'ships of Tarshish' (ii. 16)? Well, we certainly *imagine* that we understand 'all ships of Tarshish,' which at any rate sounds more plausible than 'all precious sculptures,' in the parallel line. But do we really understand either phrase in this context? And if either phrase be accepted as giving Isaiah's true meaning, how can we tolerate the other? for obviously 'ships' and 'sculptures' are not parallel in sense. Gunkel, it is true, has devised a way out of the difficulty.¹ Assuming that אֲנִיּוֹת, 'ships,' is genuine, he thinks that שְׂכוֹת may be a rare word meaning 'ships,' 'barks.' It has been shown, however,² that אֲנִיּוֹת in several other places (*e.g.* xxiii. 1, 14) is most probably corrupt, and Gunkel, I think, would be the last person to insist on the genuineness of שְׂכוֹת. The origin and meaning of תְּרִשִׁישׁ too have been much disputed, and corruption is practically certain.

We have therefore a free hand in using both old and new critical methods to correct the two stichi of *v.* 16. אֲנִיּוֹת has come from אֲרַמְנוֹת; שְׂכוֹת in the parallel line from מִשְׁכְּנוֹת. תְּרִשִׁישׁ and חֲמַדָּה, which should be parallel in sense, can also be connected with a close approach to certainty. תְּרִשִׁישׁ having been shown to be derived from some N. Arabian regional name, most probably Ashtar, we can hardly doubt that חֲמַדָּה was originally חֲמַד, and that this has come from רַחַם,³ *i.e.* יֶרֶחַם. Thus we get for *v.* 16:

And upon all castles of Ashtar,
And upon all mansions of Yarham.

For 'castles of Ashtar' we may compare the similar phrase 'castles in Ashdod' (Am. iii. 9; see note), which is parallel to 'castles in the land of Mišrim,' and may remind ourselves that Asshur, Ashtar, and Ashdod are nearly equivalent.⁴ There is much more that might be said on this fine poem of the Day of Yahweh; but I may be content with remarking that, though Isaiah is thinking primarily of the fate of Israel and Judah, and of N. Arabia, he has not forgotten altogether

¹ *Schöpfung*, p. 50 (n. 3).

² *D. and F.* p. 155.

³ Cp. a parallel in Gen. xxxvi. 26; 1 Chr. i. 41, and see above on *v.* 6.

⁴ See *T. and B. Index*.

that the tradition on which his prophetic poem is based referred to the earth as a whole.¹

We come now to a passage which requires a specially close scrutiny (ii. 18, 19*f*, 21). About *v.* 18 I confess that I am not quite clear. It looks to me like a corrupt gloss. If it were part of the true text we should have to take האלילים as the subject of ובאר in *v.* 19, which produces nonsense. But I am very clear that the 'moles' and 'bats' in *v.* 20 are a pure delusion. Comparing xxxi. 7 one may assume that the Judaites would be described simply as casting away their useless idols without reference to these animals. Indeed, it is very doubtful whether such a word as חפרות, 'moles,' 'holes burrowed by the moles,' or 'rats,' exists, nor is anything gained by reading לחרת פרות. The true solution of the problem is this. (1) As to the moles. חפר and פרות are two competing readings, both corrupt, but the latter less far from the truth than the former. חפר, in fact, has come from תפר, and both פרות and תפר have sprung from פתור, *i.e.* פתרוס; the same origin, I have remarked elsewhere (pp. 88 *f.*), should no doubt be assigned to Balaam's פתור ('Pethor'). 'Pathros' is a name familiar to the Bible reader; it occurs in the MT. of Isa. xi. 11; Jer. xlv. 1, 15; Ezek. xxix. 14, xxx. 14, and the ethnic Pathrusim in Gen. x. 14² (1 Chr. i. 12). What, then, does Pathros mean? The student (who probably has not gone deeply into it) is very likely provided with an answer. But 'all is not gold that glitters.' I have explained elsewhere³ why the current combination of Pathros with the Coptic *pto-rês*, 'land of the north' (Upper Egypt), seems to me untenable, and why פתרוס should be identified with ספרת,⁴ and this with צרפת, a N. Arabian place-name.

(2) Next as to the bats, which are as much in the way as the moles, though the existence of a word עטלפים, 'bats,' is undeniable. Experience suggests that here too there has been corruption, and that underneath עטלפים there lies some well-known ethnic. Can we doubt what that ethnic is? Not פלתיים, which may first of all occur to us, but that name

¹ Gressmann, *Eschatologie*, p. 16.

² *T. and B.* pp. 155, 189.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 189*f.*

⁴ Neh. vii. 57; with prefixed article, Ezr. ii. 55.

out of which פלחים has grown,¹ אתבלים, 'Ethbalim,' *i.e.* Ishmaelites.

(3) Lastly, as to the whole word-group. The sense is now obvious. The prefixed ל must mean 'concerning.' What we have before us is either a gloss or the heading of a prophecy (perhaps *vv.* 20 *f.*). The latter view is the more probable; 'Concerning Pathros and concerning the Ethbalites' would mean 'Concerning the imminent invasion of Judah by the Pathrosites (= Zarephathites) and Ethbalites (= Ishmaelites).' We shall find the former mentioned among other invading peoples in xxii. 6—if a highly probable correction of the text be accepted; the latter—*i.e.* the Ishmaelites—are of course still more naturally referred to. The author of the heading seems to have regarded the earthquake as a figure for an invasion.

Redactors were partial to the insertion of כִּי, 'for.' Thus chap. iii. is quite gratuitously connected with chap. ii. by means of this particle. No reference is made in chap. ii. to a captivity; in chap. iii., however, it is presupposed, and indeed in *v.* 1 expressly mentioned ('doth take away'). Isaiah, in short, anticipates the deportation of the upper classes of society (*cp.* 2 K. xxiv. 14). At first sight he seems to mix up class-titles rather carelessly, but the disorder is probably due to the redactor. Some of the titles admit of rectification. Thus, according to the pointed text (iii. 3), one class-title is 'captain of fifty'² (so 2 K. i. 9). Most probably, however, חמשים is a worn-down form of רמשהים, 'Ramshaḥites,' or השמנים (Ps. lxviii. 32), 'Hashmanites,' according as we derive חמש from רמשה³ (= Aram-Ashḥur) or from חשמן (= Ashḥur-Yerahme'el). In either case the class-title referred to belongs to the commander of a force of N. Arabian mercenaries, similar to David's Kerethites.⁴

¹ See on Am. i. 8.

² Stade prefers חֲמִשִּׁים, 'commander of those ready for battle.' חֲמִשִּׁים (= חֲמִשִּׁים) occurs in Num. xxxii. 17 (*conj.*), Josh. i. 14, iv. 12; Judg. vii. 11. But Stade's reading is improbable. For the mutilation of מ into כ *cp.* the parallels in *T. and B.* p. 571, and on the whole question see *T. and B.* pp. 489 *f.*, 552 *f.*; also the present work on I K. xviii. 13.

³ See *D. and F.* pp. 40, 52, 91, 162.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. xx–xxiii.

The next phrase is even more in need of correction, for how can נשוא פנים ('an honoured one') stand among official titles? Analogy, however, suggests a satisfactory remedy. We have seen that שמואן in Am. iii. 3 has come from שמואל, or some similar corruption of ישמעאל, and פני sometimes in the Psalms from בני. It is therefore possible that [נשוא פני] has developed out of בני ישמן (transposition is common), *i.e.* 'sons of Ishman (Ishmael).' The phrase is probably a gloss on חמשים which precedes.

Next but one follows the title חכם תרשים (σοφὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα, *Θ*; similarly Aq., Pesh., Jer.; 'the cunning artificer,' A.V.). Most moderns render 'a skilled enchanter.' Considering, however, that חרשים nowhere else means 'magical arts,' we are driven to the supposition (plausible enough in itself) that the second word in this compound phrase is a regional or place-name. But is there such a place-name as חרש[י]? We must not forget that the inhabitants of the place or region must have been famous for their wisdom. Well, by a slight transposition we obtain such a name—חשרם, *i.e.* אשחר ארם. The people of this N. Arabian region were called indifferently Ashhurites and Arammmites, and were as famous for their wisdom¹ as for their warlike spirit. That enchantments must have formed an important part of their wisdom is undeniable (cp. on Hos. xii. 1 *b*). Very naturally, therefore, is the next and last official title (unless it be a gloss) נבון להש, 'one that understands spells.' And what will happen when both Israelite and Yerahme'elite props have been removed? From a more distant part of N. Arabia will their successors come. תעלולים and נערים should respectively be שנערים (cp. ענר, Gen. xiv. 13) and אתמולים (cp. תמול often for ישמעאל). In v. 12 מעולל of course is = ישמעאל, and נשים comes from ישמנים, Ishmannites (= Ishmaelites). See further 'Introduction,' pp. 29 *f*.

It may justly appear singular that the relations between Israel and Judah on the one hand and the N. Arabian peoples on the other should differ so much in different aspects. The culture of the former, though indebted in many ways directly and indirectly to Babylonia and Assyria, was yet, in religious matters, much more influenced by

¹ See 1 K. v. 11; *T. and B.* p. 460.

N. Arabia, and politically the Israelite and Judaite kings seem to have relied greatly on a standing force of N. Arabian mercenaries. Yet the Judaites especially were in almost constant danger of N. Arabian incursions, and the prophets of Isaiah's age were convinced that the N. Arabian Asshurites or Shinarites would be stirred up by Yahweh against his own people. This is the idea which underlies the statement in iii. 1 that Yahweh Šeba'oth would take away all the props of the Judaite social order. Asshur might be great, but Yahweh was vastly greater—he was indeed 'Yahweh (the God) of hosts.'¹ Yahweh, however, had been virtually forsaken by Israel; consequently he was no longer Israel's friend. The idea of a loving intimacy between Yahweh and his true worshippers is a very attractive one; but the question had arisen for Isaiah, who *were* Yahweh's true worshippers? This brings us to chap. v.

The title Dōd, *i.e.* Beloved,² applied by Isaiah to Yahweh (*v.* 1) must originally have belonged to the god Yerahme'el, just as its feminine form Dōdah belonged to another member of the divine Company, Ashtart.³ Isaiah refers to this friend of friends as having communicated to him a song which he—Yahweh—had himself produced. It would seem that Isaiah, to attract an audience for grave warnings, sang the song in public as though he were a minstrel.⁴ Such is the view which appears to me to make the incident most intelligible. In passing, it may be noticed that, having found out the divine name Dōd, we have no necessity to follow Bishop Lowth, and read שירת דודים, 'a love-song,' for ש' דודי, 'the song of my friend.'

The song, which may be in the style of a folk-song, would repay even a brief study, but time presses. Our next pause is at the fourth (*v.* 18 *f.*) of the series of Woes which follows. It is directed against the practical atheists in Jerusalem who refuse to believe in the divine judgment till they can physically see it. If Yahweh's word is true, let him make more haste—such is their spoken or unspoken thought. But Yahweh's prophet assures them that they are

¹ For the original form and meaning of this name see on Am. v. 14.

² *T. and B.* pp. 46-49.

³ *D. and F.* pp. 46, 53 *f.*

⁴ Cp. Stade, *ZAW*, 1906, p. 130.

drawing their penalty on themselves. The opening distich is rendered thus in A.V. and R.V.:

Woe unto them that draw iniquity with cords of vanity,
And sin as it were with a cart rope.

Familiarity may obscure the great improbability of this. 'Cords of vanity'? 'A cart rope'? Even if there were a better parallel to 'vanity' than 'a cart,' the expressions would surely be unnatural. We may compare a still greater difficulty in Hos. xi. 4, where the MT. is thus rendered by A.V. and R.V.,—'I drew them with cords of a man, | with bands of love.' Of course, 'a man' and 'love' are wrong, and I have shown reasons for thinking (p. 274) that אדם should be אָרָם and that אֲדָבָה should be אֲדָחָב, also that the prefixed בְּ should be מִ. This produces, 'I drew them out of the cords of Aram, | out of the bands of Ah'ab.'¹ On the analogy of this correction we can, I think, satisfactorily correct שׁוּא ('vanity') and עֲבֵלָה ('cart') here. The former is miswritten for 'אֲשׁוּר',² *i.e.* אֲשׁוּר, and the latter has come from a short composite regional name analogous to אֲדָחָב; presumably אֲבִיגַל³ or אֲיִגַל (cp. אֲחֻבֵּל), *i.e.* עֲרֵב-גַּל, 'Gallite Arabia.' The sense produced is:

Woe unto those that draw penalty with the cords of Asshur,
(That draw) punishment with the rope of Abigal.

The prophet regards the king of Asshur or (using a synonym) Abigal (*i.e.* Gallite Arabia) as the instrument by which the penalty of 'guilt' or 'sin' is being drawn upon itself by Judah. That penalty is captivity, *i.e.* national death (v. 13 *f.*, cp. xxii. 14). 'Quite apart from the prophecy in ch. vi., which Isaiah or his disciples may have expanded, we know from chs. iii., v., and xxviii., that Isaiah expected the existing national system to be broken up by captivity.'⁴ See further on chap. vi.

Chapter vi., in its present form, is the prologue to vii. 1–viii. 18. 'The unbelief of Ahaz was typical of that of the

¹ Ah'ab = Ashḥur-Arāb; see on Hos. iii. 1.

² So in Isa. xxx. 28. The alternative is to read 'אֲשׁוּר, *i.e.* שְׂמֹאן = שְׂמֹאן, a form of יִשְׁמְעָאֵל (cp. *T. and B.* p. 110).

³ אֲבִי and גַל both represent regionals. See *T. and B.* pp. 409, 389.

⁴ *SBOT* ('Polychrome Bible'), Isaiah (Heb. edition), p. 86.

nation, and the troubles of the Syrian (?) invasion were like a prelude of the sorer judgments announced in vi. 11-13 (cp. vii. 18-25).¹ Chap. vi. was therefore quite fittingly placed; that a chronological arrangement of Isaiah's prophecies would be required by post-Israelite worshippers of God could not have occurred either to the prophet or to his disciples. It is, however, interesting to know that Isaiah's second birth occurred in the death-year of king Uzziah. So the record informs us. In the form or setting of a narrative it describes an inward experience which transfigured Isaiah's life. The experience is represented both as a vision and as an audition. The vision is of Yahweh in his temple²—a grand and uplifting as well as deeply humbling revelation. What an unique privilege—to see God, and not to die (Judg. xiii. 22)! Evidently the seer restrained his eyes; he had not perhaps hoped for such a favour, and now that all at once he saw the superhuman form of One seated like a king, the Lord of the temple, the Lord also of the terrible seraphim³—he was, like the young Samuel of the saga, more than content, and gave no scope to an unseemly inquisitiveness.

But it was not merely a privilege, as if Isaiah were holier than others; he had to be made holy, made a partaker of the divine spirit, by supernatural means.⁴ So he tells us himself, and the means adopted are in accordance with the theory of the special sanctity of the altar. Regarding the scene psychologically, however, one cannot help thinking that the process must have begun before the experience of the vision. For how came Isaiah to frequent the temple? Did he not hope to meet his God there in some sense, even though he did not presume to look out for His sacred, dazzling form? Was he not aspiring to be sent

¹ Cheyne, *Intr. Is.* p. 27.

² See 'The Heavenly Temple and the Heavenly Altar,' by G. Buchanan Gray, *Expositor*, May and June 1908. 'Evidence seems to be wanting that the Babylonians believed in a temple and altar in heaven.' Nor had the Judaites this belief as yet.

³ See *E. Bib.*, 'Seraphim.'

⁴ One of the seraphim is represented as taking a heated stone (cp. 1 K. xix. 6) from off the altar, and touching Isaiah's lips with it. The lips are thus consecrated, and Isaiah can speak as well to God as for God.

on Yahweh's business? And had he not already a conception of Yahweh fitted in the highest degree to purify and consecrate—of Yahweh who was not only clothed with physical might, but a moral Being, and not only the god of Canaan, but glorious throughout all the earth? And now to this great consciousness was superadded the sense of a new personal relation between himself and Yahweh. He was called to be a prophet in a higher than the ordinary sense. Like Amos, he could have said, 'No member of a prophets' guild am I.' Hard, indeed, was his appointed work, not to preach the destruction of Israel's foes and the conversion of Israel's land into Paradise, but to announce that Israel itself, including even Judah, was doomed to perish. He may have feared this before, but now the presentiment became a conviction, and indeed, to Isaiah's feeling, a revealed truth. It was perhaps 'like many a flash of insight which visits and revisits us for moments, and then disappears, till at length a sad or joyful experience makes it ours for ever.'¹

It may seem at first sight as if such a pessimistic conclusion must have paralysed the energy of the young prophet. But, like all true *nebi'im*, Isaiah had a passion for Yahweh, he was a God-intoxicated man. Though kingdoms should vanish and peoples be destroyed, yet Yahweh should 'be exalted in that day' (ii. 9). We cannot doubt, however, that he believed in the escape of a few (xvii. 6). The destruction of the earth, spoken of in ancient tradition, did not exclude the escape of a survivor or survivors (p. 17), and Isaiah could not fail to treat the destruction of Judah (or Israel and Judah) on this analogy. Just as one of the great narrators of the life of Moses makes Yahweh say, 'Let me alone . . . that I may consume them, and I will make of thee a great nation' (Ex. xxxii. 10; cp. Num. xiv. 12), so Isaiah believed that though 'many' in Jerusalem should 'fall and be broken,' he and his children and disciples should 'wait for Yahweh' and escape in the awful day (viii. 14-18). The *doctrine* of the Remnant may not have emerged till long after his time, but it is scarcely an illusion to see this hope, real enough though indefinite,

¹ *E. Bib.*, 'Isaiah, Prophet.'

gilding the edge of the dark cloud which beset the prophet's horizon.

It does not, however, I confess, appear to have been prominent in Isaiah's mind, when, no longer a young man, he wrote from memory or revised an account of his early vision. When Isaiah asks, 'how long' his fruitless mission shall last, the answer is, Till the cities be dispeopled and the land be utterly desolate (*v.* 11). A few, indeed, might be left, but so few as not to be worth counting. Here, probably, the divine answer should close. A scribe, however, took a different view. Thinking, perhaps, of the two captivities of Judah, he added (after the needless paraphrase in *v.* 12):

And should there yet be a remnant (שארית) therein,
It shall again be destroyed,
For consumption (shall be) on its plants,
And failure of fruits on its sprouts¹ (*v.* 13).

The text here has to be touched. It is hard to believe that even a redactor wrote the closing words in MT. ורע קדש מצבתה, 'an inviolate plant is the stock thereof, and נאלה and נאלון are very suspicious. I have gone into this elsewhere.²

ISA. vii. 1–ix. 6

Again we have genuine prophetic matter in the setting of a narrative. The period is a critical part of the reign of Ahaz (see on xvii. 1–6). We may find a parallel for Isaiah's memorable walk (vii. 3) in the legend of Elijah. As that hero-prophet went out to meet the king of Israel, so Isaiah, with almost equal intrepidity, went out to confront his own king—the king of Judah—with a message from Yahweh. The question arises, however, How far can we trust the narrative in its present form? The text, both of the traditional narrative and of the prophecies, appears to have been very extensively manipulated. The opening verse of chap. vii., for instance, has been transferred (with one variation) from 2 K. xvi. 5. This may imply either that

¹ See *Isaiah* (Heb. ed.) in *Polychrome Bible* (SBOT).

² Both may represent פליין.

the original opening had become illegible, or that it expressed a view of facts which was not accepted by the redactor. So too the interrupting clause in *v.* 8, which contains a seemingly definite but really obscure chronological notice, is a late insertion, and Bernhard Stade may be right in also rejecting as redactional the remainder of *vv.* 8, 9, except the solemn close in which Ahaz and his courtiers are summoned to 'believe' as the indispensable condition of national continuance.¹ Further, it is doubtful how far we can accept *vv.* 10-14 as an original part of the tradition. Certainly they do not connect well with *vv.* 2-9. But there are even more important considerations to be mentioned. That our prophet believed in what are called 'miracles,' one term for which was 'signs,' may indeed be assumed. But whether he really gave Ahaz free selection of a 'sign,' licensing him at will to shake the solid heaven, or to change the courses of the rivers of She'ol (point שְׁעוֹלָה), and then, as if this were not less wonderful, bidding him accept as a substitute the name of a child, or, as some think, of a generation of children (*i.e.* sons), may reasonably be questioned.

I hope I shall not be misunderstood. I grant that a name given to a child might under special circumstances be called a 'sign,' but it seems to me inconceivable that Ahaz would have allowed Isaiah to play on the different meanings of the word 'sign' in this extraordinary way. Gressmann and Burney are therefore justified in attempting to show² that the sign offered by Isaiah was something supernatural, and something which the Judaites thought about very much. Now, I do not myself agree with either of these scholars, but will frankly confess that for a time I thought that Gressmann was in the main right. He has, in fact, written

¹ Cheyne, *Intr. Is.* p. 31 (n. 3).

² *Eschatologie*, pp. 276 ff.; cp. 213-215; followed by Staerk, *Assyr. Weltreich* (1908), p. 200. Independently Dr. C. F. Burney has sought to show that Isa. vii. 14 is to be explained by a popular belief that the Messiah would be born of a virgin-mother (*Interpreter*, April 1906, pp. 267 f.; *J. of Theol. St.*, July 1909, pp. 580-584). He does not, however, recognise the mythological background which is necessary to make his theory plausible. I myself, in 1907, accepted Gressmann's hypothesis (for vii. 14, 15 a); see *T. and B.* p. 48 (n. 2). My present view, it will be seen, is different.

most persuasively, and I still agree with him that the Jewish Messiah is of foreign, mythological origin. But on the interpretation of vii. 14-16 we now disagree; Gressmann believes, and I do not, that mother and child are celestial mythological beings. I think it indeed quite possible that a myth respecting the super-terrestrial origin of the Messiah¹ may have been current in the time of Ahaz and Isaiah, even if the colouring of the myth had grown pale. But the parallelism of viii. 3 is adverse to the hypothesis of a celestial child, nor would such a child have been represented as eating 'soured milk' (חמאה). It is true that one of the heavenly streams of mythology runs with milk,² but soured milk is surely an impossible substitute for milk. That the difference is insignificant I cannot admit; who can assert that the substitution of חמאה for חלב in Isa. lv. 1, Joel iv. 18 would be insignificant? Nor is it a trifling objection that the word used for the celestial mother is עלמה, 'young marriageable woman.' Surely neither Isaiah, nor the tradition from which he drew, would have applied this term to one of the immortals. Besides, what is to become of the Messiah (if Immanuel *be* the Messiah) after his one achievement for Israel? He cannot, of course, look on when Asshur invades the land. Is he perhaps to return to heaven? It is true, the Mal'ak Yahweh does this from time to time, but is it not part of the rôle of the Messiah to reign over his people in a renewed earthly Paradise? The theory raises some very embarrassing questions.

These are the points at which Gressmann's hypothesis seems to me to break down, just as the partly similar theory of Burney is upset by the unsuitable word עלמה. What the words rendered 'the young woman' and 'soured milk and honey shall he eat,' can mean, or how, if corrupt, they can be corrected, are separate questions which we shall presently have to consider.

First of all, however, I must say something more about the redactor. To him we may safely assign v. 17, except indeed the closing words 'the king of Asshur' (also in viii. 7, cp. vii. 20) which are probably later still. The

¹ See on Hos. iii. 5, and cp. Cheyne, *Bible Problems*, pp. 71-91; *T. and B.* pp. 48, 57.

² *T. and B.* pp. 41, 84.

baldness of the style and the late historical view implied in 'since Ephraim departed from Judah'¹ sufficiently prove this. Verses 18-19, 20, 21-25 are also redactional, but probably contain some Isaian material. *V.* 22 *b*, taken with *v.* 15, suggests that the redactor supposed that 'Immanuel' was the Messiah, that he would be contemporary with the troubles still to be brought upon Judah by Asshur, and that, the land of Judah having gone out of cultivation, those who were left in it, including 'Immanuel,' would be limited to pastoral fare.

It cannot be denied that the redactor allowed himself a free hand in these passages. He also, in *vv.* 8,² 10, inserted 'for with us is God.' In *viii.* 19-ix. 6 (7), too, his work is very conspicuous, and there is one very spirited as well as famous passage (*ix.* 1-6), inserted by him on the principle of closing a batch of prophecies with a comforting prospect. That the arguments of literary criticism are null and void, and that Isaiah wrote this Messianic outburst, I for one cannot believe.

I now turn to prophecies of Isaiah in *vii.* 1-viii. 18 (including the 'Immanuel' passage) which are in urgent need of re-examination. The hand of the redactor is only too frequently visible in them, but let us not be in a hurry to blame him; he always, like the scribes before him, did the best that he could with an imperfect text. We, on our part, have to study the habits of his class, and seek, by utilising such experience, to approximate to an earlier text, the fragments of which, in an ill-written form, still existed in the time of the scribes.

(a) The first is a prophecy in a name. Isaiah himself, as we remember, said, 'Behold, I and the children whom Yahweh has given me are signs and symbols of what shall be in Israel'³ (*viii.* 18). The reference to the children is no doubt based on the symbolic character of their names. One of Isaiah's sons, according to the text, bore the name of Shear-Yashub ('a remnant shall turn'). We are told in *vii.* 3 that Isaiah was bidden to go forth, with his son Shear-

¹ Stade, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, i. 347.

² See *SBOT*, 'Isaiah' (Heb. ed.), p. 87 (near foot).

³ *SBOT*, 'Isaiah' (Eng. edition), p. 13.

Yashub, to meet Ahaz. From this, among other things, Duhm infers that Ahaz knew of prophecies of Isaiah connected with this name, and throwing light on the present perplexing situation. But if so, I would ask, is it likely that Shear-Yashub was really the name of Isaiah's son? That a remnant would turn to God, and become the nucleus of a new and better community, was at any rate not one of our prophet's settled convictions,—in fact, as a doctrine it is characteristically post-exilic.¹ The message which Isaiah had for the people at large was by no means one of comfort, but of gloom and depression. He declared that a judgment upon Judah as well as Israel was inevitable; and if he ever seems to allow that his countrymen are still capable of repentance, it is only that he may not be open to the charge of not having tried to convert them. Nor did he withhold the name of the instrument of Yahweh's wrath,—it was Asshur. Asshur, then, or some equivalent name, must have entered into the name of Isaiah's son, if that name was to be 'a sign and a symbol' of that which should be.

What, then, are we critics to do? The answer is, Profit by the lessons of experience. There are no more fruitful sources of textual error than scribal transposition and confusion of letters. Hence it is probable that שֶׁאֲשׁוּר, like ראש (see on ii. 1), has sometimes arisen out of אֲשׁוּר (see on xvii. 3), and יִשׁוּב (as in Gen. xlv. 13² [Sam., 6]; Num. xxvi. 24; 1 Chr. vii. 1, and see on לִרְשׁוּב, Hos. xii. 3), out of some corruption (such as יִשְׁבּוּרִל of יִשְׁמַעֲהֵל) of יִשְׁמַעֲהֵל. 'Asshur-Ishmael,' i.e. 'Asshur of N. Arabia,' would be a suitable symbolic name for Isaiah's son. It indicated that, according to the prophet, the king of the N. Arabian Asshur would shortly invade and cruelly desolate the land. We shall not have long to wait for parallels.

(b) We will next consider Isa. vii. 14-16, the interpretation of which has stirred up so much strife both in ancient and in modern times, few even of the moderns having raised the previous question, How far can the traditional text be depended upon? This too is, partly at least, a name-prophecy, and the name is, of course, the first point which

¹ 'A remnant shall turn,' in Isa. x. 21, is post-exilic (see *Intr. Is.* p. 52). Cp. p. 308.

² See *T. and B.* p. 482.

requires a fresh investigation. The difficulty in the name Immanuel is that it appears to imply that God was on the side of the Judaite people, though Isaiah, like Amos,¹ firmly believed that the popular confidence in Yahweh's help was a fatal illusion. Prof. Porter,² indeed, thinks that Isaiah has no responsibility for the name. The prophet does but place himself in the position of Judaite mothers, rejoicing in the deliverance of Judah from Syria and Ephraim, and impelled by religious patriotism to give expression to their gratitude when naming their new-born sons. There would, that year, be many Immanuels! Poor mothers, happy for a while in their ignorance. For in how short a time would the name lose all its point! And if we ask wherein, according to this theory, the 'sign' lay, Prof. Porter's answer is, 'Not in the name, nor in the lot of the boy, but in the relation of the two, in the contradiction of the name by the lot.'

This, however, can, I venture to think, only have been offered (in 1895) as a provisional theory. For note that Isaiah has no word of blame for patriotic Judaite mothers, and therefore (assuming the theory to be correct) must in fairness be considered to authorise the supposed name-giving. Now the only period when such a name could have enjoyed even a qualified prophetic authorisation is the great post-exilic age,³ when the principles of the prophets were in some degree established in the community, and Yahweh could therefore, on moral grounds, be presumed to be on the side of his people. But our passage cannot be post-exilic.

Still the problem undoubtedly exists, how to reconcile the encouraging name Immanuel with the prospect of invasion and captivity which Isaiah so persistently holds forth. And such a reconciliation, I for my part, after repeated attempts, confess myself unable to find. There is, I think, no course left but to unloose the knot by a text-critical conjecture justified by parallels elsewhere. In Gen. xxiii. 6, 8 the improbably insistent שמעני and שמעני are most easily accounted for in the respective contexts as corruptions of

¹ Am. v. 18; cp. v. 14, if Amos's work.

² *JBL*, xiv. pp. 26 ff.

³ To this age belong the *'immānū 'el* in viii. 8, 10 and the *yahweh sebā'ōth 'immānū* in Ps. xlv. 8, 12.

יִשְׁמַעֲלִי, יִשְׁמַעֲלִי¹ (glosses), and we have already seen that עֲמֹנו in Hos. xii. 5 has most probably a similar origin. These parallels, together with the analogy (see further on) in viii. 1, 3, lead me to conjecture that in the underlying, original text of the narrative and prophecies the name of the child was given as יִשְׁמַעֲלִי, *i.e.* יִשְׁמַעֲלִי. This was corrupted in transcription into שְׁמַעֲנוּ whence עֲמֹנו, and the late redactor completed this to his own satisfaction by appending אֱלֹ, thus producing 'With-us-is-God.'

Similar corruptions have taken place in *vv.* 15, 16. חֲמָה וְדִבְשׁ יֶאֱכַל—so obscure and indeed inexplicable—has, if experience of parallel cases is to be consulted, been mis-written for יִרְחַמְעֵל הוּא עֶרֶב-שׁוּר אֲשָׁכַל, 'Yerahme'el, that is, Shurite (Asshurite) Arabia, Ashkal.' All these regional names are glosses,—the first on the name of the child 'Ishmael,' the others on 'Yerahme'el.' The rest of *v.* 15 is redactional patching. This is surely better than the usual course of calling *v.* 15 a late insertion, without explaining how it came to be inserted.

Let us now turn to *v.* 16. Here too the redactor is responsible for some awkward patching. 'The land at whose two kings thou hast a loathing shall become deserted,'—can this be Isaiah's? The first and most obvious correction which will occur to us is מִכְּבִּי for מִכְּבִּי (cp. on x. 27). Some ethnic must of course follow, and the corrections already made (see especially on *v.* 14) at once suggest 'Ishmael,' a name which often appears as 'Ishman.' This form became corrupted into שְׁנִי, as in viii. 14. The accompanying word מְלִיכָה seems to have been altered redactionally from some corruption of יִרְחַמְעֵל, such as יֶמֶל;² 'Yerahme'el' was an alternative reading to 'Ishmael.' וְאִשׁוּר אֶתָּה קֵץ may be a redactional patch. At any rate, the second part of the prophecy appears to state that before the child is weaned (cp. viii. 4) the land of the enemy 'will become deserted because of the sons of Ishmael' (*i.e.* the N. Arabian invaders).

¹ *T. and B.* p. 340. The intermediate form would be שְׁמַעֲנוּ.

² מֶלֶךְ is a not unfrequent corruption of מֶלֶךְ [יֶרֶם], and in 2 Chr. xxviii. 16 ('the kings of Asshur') מֶלֶךְ may come from מֶלֶךְ. Cp. also on הַלִּיכִים, viii. 6; also מֶלֶךְ.

But we have still to explain the first part of *v.* 14. Ingenious as Robertson Smith's¹ view of it may be, and striking as is the assent of so many recent scholars,² I can no longer see my way to accept it. 'Behold, a (= any) young woman who conceives and bears a son, shall call his name . . .' is no doubt grammatically possible, but is it natural? Surely, *העלמה* in such a context ought to mean '*the* young woman.' I admit that none of the current explanations is satisfactory, but must we not keep our minds open to fresh light? Gressmann may have been led astray by an illusion (*p.* 311), but we have still to try the effect of critical conjecture. We have already seen how difficult it is to credit the narrative in which the Prophecy of the Child is set. Let us venture, then, to substitute for the whole narrative in *vv.* 10-14 *a* this new, simple, credible setting, 'And Yahweh said to Isaiah.' In the prophecy itself *העלמה* cannot be right; we require some word indicating the wife of the prophet as the subject; a plausible suggestion is *אִמְתִּי*, 'my handmaid' (1 S. i. 11). If Isaiah is called by Yahweh 'my servant' (*xx.* 3), why should not Isaiah's wife be called 'my handmaid'? The redactor who so skilfully produced *עֲמֻנָּה*, and who doubtless interpreted the passage of the Messiah, may, with equal ingenuity, have converted an imperfectly legible *אִמְתִּי* into *העלמה* [העלמה]. Such is the best conjecture that I can frame. The present text is inexplicable, but there is no bar to reasonable conjecture. Accept the suggestion and all becomes in order. The revelation, though still in a measure wonderful, ceases to be against the laws either of psychology or of Hebrew usage. It is simply that the prophet's wife shall have a son, whose name shall be symbolic of the Asshurite invasion, which is appointed to come even before the promised child is weaned.

(*c*) It is a third name-prophecy (*viii.* 1-4) which we have now to examine. As the traditional text stands, the name given to a son of Isaiah is Maher-shalal-hash-baz, 'swift-spoil-hastening-prey.' If this is correctly given, the child's name had only a passing significance, for, as *v.* 4 states,

¹ *Prophets of Israel*, pp. 272, 424 *f.*

² Including now Prof. R. H. Kennett (1909) in his Schweich Lectures reported at length in the *Athenaeum*.

within about a year the spoil is to be carried away before the king of Asshur. Experience warns us, however, that names are often corrupted in transmission, and that names already corrupted are sometimes made subservient to the historical theories of redactors. It is possible, therefore, that רחם (*i.e.* ירחם) should be read for מהר של (*i.e.* ישמעאל) for צב של (*i.e.* צבעון) for בו; while חש, as elsewhere in compound names, is a shortened form of אשחור.¹ The fourfold name of the child may therefore possibly be equivalent to Yarham-Ishmael-Ashhur-Sib'on, unless indeed 'Ishmael' and Sib'on are to be regarded as glosses.

I venture to think, however, that the parallels of the other name-prophecies justify us in saying, not merely 'possibly,' but 'probably.' It is, of course, very unlikely that Isaiah had three sons, all commonly known by equivalent names, but may we not reasonably suppose that the *yelādim* (viii. 18) had each two names, one of which may have been compounded of two ethnics or regionals, and the other have been some plain familiar name. It was the former name which made its bearer a living 'sign,' and in his degree a prophet.

The 'Maher' passage is remarkable for yet another reason. In the first of the two speeches of Yahweh a special direction is given with regard to the mode of writing the inscription. It is to be done בחרט אנוש, which is usually explained 'with a common man's graver (stilus),' *i.e.* 'in characters which every one can read.' Unfortunately אנש, 'men,' is not used elsewhere in prose, and the final explanation is artificial. Surely אנש must be due to the ignorance of a scribe. Both here and in Gen. iv. 26,² אנש, like שאן in Am. ii. 2; Jer. xlviii. 45, must have come from אשמן = ישמעאל. An Ishmaelite (N. Arabian) graver was one made of iron. So already *Crit. Bib.* part i. (1903), p. 14; see also *T. and B.* pp. 315, 568 (n. 2); *D. and F.* pp. 141, 149.

¹ רחם, in 1 Chr. ii. 44, is a son of Shema (= Ishmael). For של cp. אשל, Gen. xxi. 33, and שאל. For צב cp. זאב, Judg. vii. 25, which did not originally mean 'wolf,' and בעו, Ruth ii. 1; 1 K. vii. 21. See also *T. and B.* pp. 30 (n. 2), 322, 425, and (on the two double ethnics) *JQR*, Oct. 1907, p. 15.

² See *T. and B.* p. 111, with n. 4.

Before passing on I may add that in *v.* 4 *b* דמשק should probably be רמשק, and שמרון should be pronounced Shimron, names of N. Arabian cities. See on viii. 14, x. 9, xvii. 13; Am. iii. 12, vi. 1.

(*d*) In viii. 6-8 *a* we have another contemporary prophecy of Isaiah. It is not so clear, however, that the text is right. Obviously there is a prediction of an Asshurite invasion, which is represented as the punishment of an offence of 'this people' (vi. 10, viii. 11 *f.*, xxviii. 11, 14, xxix. 13 *f.*). But what *is* the offence? Various opinions are held. In *SBOT* (Isaiah) previous attempts to correct the text of *v.* 6 *b* are registered, but *v.* 6 *a* is left untouched. ההלנים לעט, however, is surely not right; why indeed should any part of their system of aqueducts be despised by the Jerusalemites? Parallel corruptions elsewhere lead to these results, מן השלח comes from מן השלח (where חש = אשחור and לח = ירחמאל); ההלנים from ינמל (see p. 315, n. 2); לאט and את¹ from אחבל; ומשורש from ומאשור. מאם should of course be ימם. We obtain this sense: 'Forasmuch as this people desponds because of Ashhur-Yerahme'el [Yerahme'el-Ethbal. That is, because of Asshur-Ethbal. Rezin and Ben-Remalyahu].' Thus the offence of Judah was that, forgetting Yahweh, it fell into despondency (vii. 2 *b*) at an invader's coming from the neighbouring parts of N. Arabia, which at present ought not to excite any apprehension. The more distant and really formidable power, called generally *par excellence* 'Asshur' (see on x. 5), would be stirred up by Yahweh to chastise them.

(*e*) Another oracle (viii. 12-15) contains a most interesting crucial passage. The young prophet seems to have been tempted 'to walk in the way of this people,' and then, in an ecstasy, to have learned better things. This we gather from *v.* 11, which is certainly a prose insertion, but early and trustworthy. The oracle culminates in the declaration that many in Jerusalem will come to ruin through not recognising the true Yahweh. It is the preceding verse, however, which calls for a keener textual criticism; and the trouble which we may have to take will be amply rewarded. But,

¹ See on Hos. xi. 4, Isa. xix. 3, and *T. and B.* p. 406.

first, how does *v.* 14 run in the traditional text? The A.V. renders thus :

‘And he shall be for a sanctuary, but for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel, for a gin and for a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem.’

The A.V., of course, did not recognise this parallelism or metrical arrangement, with which, in fact, *למקדש* is inconsistent. It is an obvious remedy to omit the troublesome word ; but how shall we account for its having got in ?¹ The truth is that the corruption extends further than has been supposed ; not only is *למקדש* corrupt, but also the unusual and in this context improbable expression *שני בתי ישראל*, ‘the two houses of Israel.’ Marti suspects that the latter phrase is an arbitrary alteration of *איש יהודה*, which will hardly stand. We shall do best to take the two corruptions together, putting them in the light of our historical results elsewhere. The invasion or incursion which threw Ahaz into such excessive terror (*vii.* 2, *viii.* 6) came from the nearer parts of N. Arabia ; that with which Isaiah threatens the land of Judah is to come from the more distant Asshur. Its formidable power would be felt first of all by the southern Aram (sometimes called Ishmael), next by Judah and Jerusalem. It is, therefore, in itself suitable and also text-critically probable that the two corruptions cover over references to N. Arabia, *i.e.* that for *מקדש* we should read *רמשק*,² and for *שני בתי* read *בית ישמן*³ (‘house of Ishman’ or ‘Ishmael’); *ישראל* is probably an incorrect variant to *ישמן*. Thus we get this triplet :

And he shall be to Ramshak a stone to strike against,
A rock of stumbling to the house of Ishmael,
A trap and a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

So then, when Ramshak has fallen, brief indeed will be the respite granted to Jerusalem. For Yahweh himself will

¹ The other remedies proposed (see *SBOT*, ‘Isaiah,’ Heb. edition, p. 88) are also quite inadequate.

² One might, indeed, read *רמשק* (Damascus), but the necessary correction which follows forbids this.

³ This is not arbitrary. *שני* has the same origin in *vii.* 16.

be on the enemy's side. But something more will have to be said on this and the preceding prophecies presently (see on chap. xvii.), and in connexion with this I shall refer to Isa. vii. 2, and relevant narratives in 2 Kings.

We have come to the end of the section, vii. 1-viii. 18, at least so far as is at present possible. The problems of viii. 19-ix. 5 (6) must be referred to more briefly. Apparently this section was tacked on later.¹ The only part of it which we may very plausibly recognise as Isaiah's is vv. 21, 22, which, it will be noticed, do not connect well with the preceding passage. Formerly I was inclined to begin the Isaiah fragment with the closing words of v. 20, rendered 'he for whom there is no dawning.' The possibility, however, remains that **אִשּׁוּר אֵין לוֹ שׁוּחַר** is really a marginal note stating that 'it (*i.e.* the copy before the scribe) has, not שׁוּחַר,² but **אִשּׁוּר**.' The conquering might of Asshur was not unknown to the earlier supplementers and scribes, and vv. 19, 20 in their original form may quite well have mentioned Asshur as the author of the oppression referred to in v. 23. As to the magnificent prophetic poem in ix. 1-6 (2-7) I chronicle the fact that some recent writers have rejected the arguments for a post-exilic date, mainly on the ground that the Messianic belief must have existed much earlier among the Israelites than has been supposed. I, too, am decidedly of that opinion. But I suppose that no one is so wild as to contend that post-exilic Jews were strangers to, at least, a paler form of that great belief. And even if we altogether reject the arguments of a too phraseological criticism, yet there are three insuperable hindrances to admitting Isaiah's authorship, viz. (a) that 'there are no references to ix. 1-6 elsewhere in Isaiah, or indeed anywhere in pre-exilic, exilic, and early post-exilic prophecy'; (b) that 'the prophecy lacks Isaiah's lucidity. Who is the king? Is he a relative of Ahaz? And how has he been prepared for his work? Isaiah's prophecies are always in close relation to the circumstances of his age';³ and (c) that the whole conception of the Messiah, who, as Gressmann himself has shown, is but another form of the mythic First Man, is abhorrent to

¹ See Cheyne, *Intr. Is.* pp. 41-44.

² שׁוּחַר, *i.e.* אִשּׁוּר.

³ *SBOT*, 'Isaiah' (English edition), p. 145.

Isaiah, for the Messiah is the destined king of a restored Paradise (cp. Isa. xi. 6-9), inhabited by Israel, and the actual Israel Isaiah knows to be doomed to destruction. If, therefore, we are firmly convinced that the Messianic poem in ix. 1-6 is pre-exilic, we must not venture, in the teeth of the above hindrances, to assign it to Isaiah.

It is possible that, though (as I at least hold) post-exilic, the poem is partly modelled on pre-exilic poems in which the Messiah was glorified in the person of the reigning king; a similar theory has often been advocated for certain of the canonical Psalms. It may, in fact, have been a court fashion, and kings or crown-princes may have been pleased at being hailed by the poets as sitting, or destined to sit, upon the throne of David, as sons of David, or even (the height of eulogy!) as second Davids. Originally, however, as I have pointed out, the Messianic king was regarded as the son, not of David, but of Dōd (see on Hos. iii. 5; *T. and B.* pp. 48 f.).

The text of the poem is not always quite certain.¹ עֲדָרֵךְ, for instance, in the king's name, דָּאִיד, רַעַשׁ, and אֱלֹהֵי-שֹׁכֵמֹר, are very dubious. One would not, however, like to suspect אֱלֹהֵי גִבּוֹר, though it distinctly asserts the superhuman character of the Messiah. For was not that mighty Being, variously called Man, Son of Man, Word of Yahweh, Servant of Yahweh, and Anointed One, and only second to the Supreme One, necessarily superhuman and divine?

CHAPTER xvii. 1-6, 9-11

To understand this oracle, it is desirable to look back on the history which forms the background of the Isaian prophecies last referred to, and which could not there be continuously narrated. It was the opinion of Ahaz and his courtiers that at present Aram was the most dangerous of the foes of Judah. The terrifying report had reached the king, 'Aram has lighted on Ephraim.' Isaiah was therefore sent to urge upon Ahaz the religious duty of quiet trust in Yahweh. Such appears to have been the tradition handed

¹ See *SBOT*, 'Isaiah' (Hebrew edition), pp. 88, 195; *Critica Biblica*, p. 15.

down by the disciples of Isaiah. He is also said to have been accompanied by his son. The reason of this can now, I think, be seen better. It was because his young son's name, like other names in this section, indicates Asshur-Ishmael, *i.e.* the N. Arabian Asshur, as Yahweh's avenger. That has, I hope, been made plain; 'Shear-Yashub' is a transformation of Asshur-Ishmael—a transformation begun by accident and finished by theological purpose. It now becomes highly probable that Aram and Ephraim in vii. 2 are the southern Aram and Ephraim,¹ and that the original underlying text of *v.* 1 (*i.e.* of 2 K. xvi. 5) represented the invasion as coming solely from the southern Aram. The invaders would, of course, first 'light upon' Ephraim. As for the names Rezin and Pekah, they are probably due to a scribe, and were suggested by a historical confusion, parallels for which are given elsewhere.² We may therefore disregard them in our present attempt to restore the true text of Isaiah. The name Ṭab'al, however, here assigned to the pretender to the crown of Judah, is genuine. Like Tubal, it originated in the well-known form Ethbaal, *i.e.* Ishmael.³ Naturally, the nominee of the Arammmites would be an Ishmaelite, *i.e.* a N. Arabian.

If so, it is but reasonable to hold that 2 K. xvi. 10-18 has also been manipulated. In its present form the narrative describes what Ahaz did after the capture of Damascus by Tiglath-Pileser III., but in the original source the altar-anecdote may have been connected with a visit of Ahaz to the king of the N. Arabian Asshur at the conquered city of Ramshak. During his stay the king of Judah appears to have been struck by the relatively ornate style of 'the altar' which was there.⁴ He sent a sketch of

¹ See *T. and B.* pp. 17, 62 (n. 2), 179, and, for Ephraim, pp. 469, 472 *f.*

² *D. and F.* pp. 86-90.

³ According to Winckler, however, Ṭab'al is only another name for the king called Ṭab-Rimmon (1 K. xv. 18).

⁴ See Stade, *Gesch.* i. 597 *f.* Kittel's view is different. He thinks that the old altar was set on one side in order that afterwards it might unobtrusively disappear, and renders the closing words of the king's speech, 'will ich mirs noch bedenken' (*Studien sur*

this sacred object to Urijah, the priest of the royal temple at Jerusalem, and by the time Ahaz returned an altar after this pattern was ready. Evidently it was larger as well as more ornate than the Solomonic altar; it must have been of stone, whereas that of Solomon was of bronze. Explicit directions were given by Ahaz as to the use of the new, or, as it is called by the king, the 'great' altar; as for the old or bronze altar, all that Ahaz finds to say is *וידה-לי לבקר*, 'it shall be for me to . . . (?)' The closing word is thought by Kautzsch¹ to refer to a particular kind of royal sacrifices, but no one would say that its meaning had yet been clearly made out. If, however, we turn *לבקר* round—a common critical process—we get *רכבל*, and it has already been pointed out (1) that *רכב* as a name, or as an element of a name,² may best be taken as coming from *ירחם*, i.e. *ירחמאל*, and (2) that *רק* in Gen. xx. 11 comes from *רקם*, i.e. *ירחם*.³ It is, therefore, text-critically possible that *לי לבקר* may be a corruption of *לירקבל*, i.e. *לירחמאל*. It is also accordant with by far the most probable view of the course of history in S. Palestine. So, then, it was the will of Ahaz that the Jerusalem temple should not be without an altar of sacrifice for the second member (*Yerahme'el*) of the divine Company, as well as for its supreme Director (*Yahweh*). This was due to the increased religious influence of N. Arabia, which, through a great part of the later period, was overpoweringly strong in Judah.⁴

If, from these discussions, we pass to the study of Isa. xvii. 1-6, 9-11, which may be dated only a little earlier than the prophecies in chaps. vii.-viii., and if we treat the passage by the same critical methods, both old and new, we shall again have to tell the same tale of serious difficulties overcome. Any one who will consult the notes on the Hebrew Isaiah in the *Polychrome Bible* and the commentaries of Duhm and Marti will see what the difficulties are. I will now, first of all, give a translation of the amended text of *hebräischen Archäologie* (1908), pp. 53, 55-57). See further *Crit. Bib.* p. 375.

¹ *Die Aramäismen*, i. 24. Cp. W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*⁽²⁾, p. 289.

² Hence *רכבאל*, a divine name in the Sinjirli inscriptions can be accounted for.

³ *T. and B.* p. 313.

⁴ See *D. and F. passim*.

vv. 1-3, which probably underlies the much transcribed and much redacted traditional text :

Behold, Ramshaḵ shall cease to be a city,
And shall become a ruin.
Deserted shall be her cities for aye,
To flocks shall they belong.
And Aram shall lose her fortresses,
And Ramshaḵ her sovereignty.

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· · · · ·

A complete justification of this text here presupposed is not, I think, required. What is necessary has been partly done in the Isaiah (critical) of the *Polychrome Bible* (SBOT).¹ The boldest and not the least probable corrections have to do with vv. 1 and 3. We must begin with v. 3 *b*. If שֶׁאֵר אָרָם is right, a verb must have fallen out after it; metre inexorably demands this. Marti thinks that he can discern this missing verb underneath נִכְבֹּד, which he accordingly transforms into יִבָּדֵךְ. This produces—

And the rest of Aram shall perish,
Like the glory of the Israelites shall they become.

It is, however, unnecessarily arbitrary, and the incidental reference to the humiliation of Israel is unnatural. Is there no other remedy than Marti's? I think that there is. שֶׁאֵר, as in vii. 3, is probably miswritten for אֲשֶׁר, and נִכְבֹּד, like לְבָקָר in 2 K. xvi. 15 (see p. 323), is miswritten for רִנְבֹר, i.e. יִרְחֲמָאֵל. Finally, יִשְׂרָאֵל should, as often (e.g. 2 S. xvii. 25), rather be יִשְׁמַעְאֵל,² while *explicativum* takes the place of הוּא. In short, v. 3 *b*, putting aside the concluding extra-metrical formula, is composed of the three glosses, 'Asshur-Aram,' 'Rakbūl,' and 'benê Ishmael,' of which the first relates to 'Ramshaḵ,' the second and third probably to אָרָם, for, be it observed, Grätz must surely be right in reading, in v. 3 *a*, not אֲפִירִים, but אָרָם. It will also by this time be clear that דְּמַשֶּׁק (vv. 1, 3) should be רְמַשֶּׁק,³ as indeed the gloss in v. 3 *b* expressly indicates. The true close of v. 3 has been displaced by the glosses.

¹ Cp. also Marti.

² Cp. *Crit. Bib.* on Zech. ix. 1.

³ See p. 319.

Verses 4-6 and *vv.* 9-11 are also much the gainers by a keener criticism. The text of the former passage (= strophe 2), when duly amended, with the addition of *v.* 9, should be rendered thus :

In that day shall the glory of Yerahme'el languish,
And the fatness of his flesh become lean.
It shall be as when a reaper gathers standing wheat,
Yea, as at the slaughter of the Ishmaelites.
And there shall remain thereon (but) gleanings,
As at the beating of an olive-tree,
Two or three berries on the uppermost branch,
Four or five on the boughs of the fruit-tree.

In that day shall thy cities be deserted
Like the deserted places of Ashhur-Aram.

In justifying this, I will begin with a reference to the second part of *v.* 9 in the received text (אֲשׁוּר וּגְרִי). As Duham and Marti have rightly seen, this is a mere prosaic gloss, stating that the preceding words refer to the earlier possessors of Canaan who fled before the Israelite invaders. I cannot, however, believe that the gloss is correct. It is doubtful whether Isaiah anywhere refers to any traditional account of the early history of Israel; *iv.* 5, *ix.* 3, *x.* 24, 26 are of late origin.¹ It is noteworthy that **Q** gives, for some strange words in MT., 'the Amorites and the Hivites.' This may represent an earlier phase of text, but is due to conjectural criticism. The true names had already become somewhat corrupt when the Hebrew MS., on which the Greek translator worked, was written. (The earliest text had regionals; the articles and the prefixed *ו* are, of course, redactional.) *וְהָיָה*, like *וְהָיָה* in *Hos.* v. 7, and *וְהָיָה* in *Isa.* xiv. 12,² comes from *וְהָיָה*,³ while *וְהָיָה* represents an original *וְהָיָה*. I need only add that, of course (as in *SBOT*, 'Isaiah,' p. 90), I adopt the fine reading presupposed by *αἱ πόλεις σου ἐγκαταλειμμέναι*,⁴ viz. *וְהָיָה עָרֶיךָ עֲזוּבוֹת*, combining which with the above corrections, we obtain the sense given above. The result is

¹ Cheyne, *Intr. Is.* pp. 22, 45, 85.

² *T. and B.* p. 569 (cp. 85, 203); *D. and F.* p. 42; *Crit. Bib.* p. 22.

³ Cp. *T. and B.* pp. 109, 483.

⁴ Note in MT. the warning *Paseq* after *וְהָיָה*.

very valuable, because of the parallelism thus established between the first couplet of stanza 3 and the second of stanza 1.

Next, passing backwards, we pause at the close of *v.* 5, which has already excited the suspicions of critics. Certainly the repetition of שְׁבָלִים is most improbable. One remedy would be to omit the unimportant line in which שְׁבָלִים occurs for the first time. That is good so far as it goes, but the question remains, What is the meaning of the word in the following line? Is it likely that Isaiah or even a glossator would have cared to localise the gathering of ears of corn by reapers? The particularity of the mention of the valley of Rephaim (?) points to some great event as having occurred here. Not ears of corn, but human beings must those be who were acted upon in the event, having said which we cannot doubt (knowing the N. Arabian connexion of the contemporary prophecies) that שְׁבָלִים is a shortened form of אֲשַׁבְלִים (Ashbalim),¹ just as שׁוּבָל (Gen. xxxvi. 20) and שְׁבוּאֵל (1 Chr. xxiii. 16) are distorted forms of popular regionals, the ultimate origin of which is יִשְׁמַעְאֵל. It follows that מִלְקֵט must be a redactor's ingenious modification of some similar word with an entirely different meaning—one may most reasonably suppose of מִנְּת, miswritten מִקֵּט. And corruption having gone so far, one is bound to question whether בַּעֲמֵק רֶפְאִים is correct. It is true, the Rephaim and their land are spoken of in connexion with Bashan as the scene of prehistoric warfare² (Gen. xiv. 5 ; Dt. iii. 10, 11, 13), but Isaiah either knows not or cares not for what we call prehistoric. Probably, therefore, בַּעֲמֵק ר' is a glossator's insertion, right in so far as it implies that Isaiah referred to a disaster to N. Arabian warriors, but wrong in so far as it may stamp the disaster as prehistoric. It seems to me most probable that Isaiah refers either to the same crushing calamity as Hosea (Hos. x. 14 ; see p. 272), or to Amaziah's slaughter of ten thousand Arammites in the *gē melah*, i.e. the valley of Yerahme'el (2 K. xiv. 7).³ Cp. on xxviii. 21.

¹ אֲשַׁבְלִים, like אֲשַׁבְעֵל and אֲשַׁבֵּן, comes from יִשְׁמַעְאֵל. For שׁוּבָל, see *T. and B.* p. 425.

² *T. and B.* pp. 240, 472 ; *D. and F.* p. 141.

³ Read אֲרָם and see *T. and B.* p. 239 ; *D. and F.* p. xxxiii.

On the interesting problem of the name 'Rephaim' I may perhaps refer to what I have said elsewhere.¹ My view seems to be confirmed by *Ḥ*'s rendering here, which is ἐν φάραγγι στερεᾷ; *στ.*, however, should probably be στερεῶν, so that the text presupposed is בְּעַמְק אַבְרִיִּים. אַבְרִיִּים may be a corruption of עֲרָבִים, 'Arabians,' 'Arabia.'

Last, we come to the statement that 'the glory of Jacob (?) shall languish,' where 'Jacob' is, naturally enough, taken by the critics to mean N. Israel (cp. ix. 7). Formerly I held this view myself, though I felt it strange that the prophet should be able to speak so calmly of the fate of the Greater Israel. One might really think from his phraseology that he placed his own people on a level with Moab (cp. xvi. 14), and yet from xxii. 4 we know how profound was his sorrow for its impending calamities. The theory which I offered² seems to me now unsatisfactory, and further study of textual phenomena suggests a better one. יַעֲקֹב, in *v.* 4, is not 'Jacob,' *i.e.* does not here denote the people of Israel, but is equivalent to 'Yerahme'el'; in fact, as I have shown elsewhere,³ יַעֲקֹב, a fuller form of which is יַעֲקֹבֶאל, is a perfectly regular transformation of יְרוּחַמֶּאל. Yerahme'el was, indeed, the reputed ancestor of Aram (1 Chr. ii. 25, 27; cp. Gen. xxii. 21). All this (to which more might be added)⁴ tends to show that whatever Isaiah's scribe may have written, 'Yerahme'el' was what he meant. Most probably, however, he wrote יַעֲקֹב, *i.e.* יַעֲקֹבֶאל.

But who are those that are addressed in the opening couplet (*v.* 9) of the third stanza under the personification of a woman? Before answering I will translate the whole stanza from what is at any rate a probable text.

In that day shall thy cities be deserted
Like the deserted places of Ashhur-Aram.
Therefore, though thou plantest plants of Naaman,
And sowest vine-shoots of the stranger-god;

¹ See references in note 2, p. 326.

² *Intr. Is.* pp. 92 f.

³ See p. 65, and *T. and B.* p. 403.

⁴ *E.g.* that Aram and Yerahme'el are probably connected (*T. and B.* pp. 328 f.), and that Abram and Abraham (Abraham) both mean either 'father of Yerahme'el' or (better) 'Arabia of Yerahme'el' (*T. and B.* p. 286).

Though, as soon as thou plantest them, thou fencest them in,
 And early bringest thy shoots to blossom,
 Thy grape-gathering perishes in the day of panic,
 And thy young plants at the crash of ruin.

Now, surely, the answer is ready. It is Judah who is addressed—Judah, who has exchanged her religion for that of a stranger. This is not, indeed, the common view. 'Plants of Naaman' are usually supposed to be the 'gardens of Adonis,' and such a reference is thought specially suitable in a prophecy of the ruin of N. Israel.¹ The theory assumes that Naaman (= pleasant, sweet) is a title of 'Tammuz yearly wounded.' Even now in Cyprus (in ancient times so much under Phœnician influence), on Good Friday evening, the imitation of a bier on which the figure of the dead Christ has been placed, is decorated with the modern equivalent of the gardens of Adonis.² This explanation, however, of the 'plants of Naaman' is not free from doubt. Isaiah's 'Naaman' need not be the god Adonis. A myth of a god who died and rose again may have come to the Judaites, together with its attendant religious usages, from N. Arabia; in fact, Yerahme'el (called here 'Naaman,' or 'Pleasant One') may have been correspondent with, but not historically derived from, Adonis.³ At any rate, vines and their fruit doubtless contributed to the 'Dionysiac' features of the cult of Yerahme'el, which soon had a fascination for Judah. Further, a keen criticism of the text compels us to hold that there were districts of the region called variously Yerahme'el, Ishmael, Asshur, Aram, in which, by the help of irrigation, the soil was enabled to produce both grain and grapes.⁴ It is therefore possible that vine-shoots brought from N. Arabia were specially valued by 'heathenish' Judaites, and that

¹ See Cheyne, *SBOT*, Isaiah (Eng. ed.), p. 146.

² Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, pp. 132 f.

³ 'To the people at large he is a Na'aman or "pleasant one," a Rahman or "compassionate one," a Död or "beloved one."' 'Was there a myth in some circles respecting his death and resurrection? It is very possible.' That the name Na'aman became popular is easily intelligible. 'But really it arose out of "Ra'aman," one of the many independent forms of Yerahme'el.' I venture to refer also to the contexts of these passages. See *T. and B.* pp. 36, 56 (n. 2).

⁴ *T. and B.* pp. 453 f.

Isaiah refers to them as symbols of the objectionable religious tendencies under king Ahaz. Respecting the vines the prophet says that though, by the favour of the foreign god, they may spring up quickly, they will as quickly perish by the hand of violence. There is, therefore, no hope of rescue through the foreign god, and before long the cities of Judah will be emptied of their inhabitants like those of Asshur-Aram (*v.* 9), or, to use the shorter name, like Ramshak and its cities (*vv.* 1-3). It is most unfortunate that only fragments of the last distich are extant in the traditional text. Piecing them together and supplementing them carefully I have arrived at the above result; for the Hebrew and its justification I may refer to a book within the reach of all scholars, *SBOT* (edited by Haupt), 'Isaiah' (Hebr. ed.), p. 195. Certainly those who are familiar with our prophet will agree that the close of the strophe ought to correspond closely with what precedes, and that the text as it stands cannot be maintained.

A long prophecy may be expected to present proportionally more difficulties than a short one like that which we have been considering. That is certainly the case with the prophecy in ix. 7-x. 4 (to which *v.* 26-30 belongs as the close). I offer my own solutions of the problems without dogmatism. That from time to time the ordinary explanations should be correct, would not surprise me. It would even gratify me more than I can say to find that our collection of prophecies was more fully representative of the ancient prophetic literature than I had ventured to suppose. Take for instance, ix. 7, 8. It seems so easy to explain the opening lines with reference to N. Israel, especially when we compare *v.* 20. The words, according to the pointed text, are—

A word has the Lord sent into Jacob,
And it shall fall in Israel,
That all the people may feel it,
Ephraim and the inhabitants of Samaria.

I do not think, however, that the prevalent view—the view embodied in the pointed text—is correct. The other fragments of Isaiah all appear to have N. Arabian scenery,

and it is hardly probable that there should be only one exception. Further, we need to be reminded that there was a second or southern Ephraim, viz. the N. Arabian territory of Israel, and that it is this that is meant by 'Ephraim' in other well-attested fragments of Isaiah (see on vii. 2, xvii. 3, xxviii. 1, 3), and sometimes in Hosea. Elsewhere too שִׁמְרֹן appears to be, not Shōmērōn (Samaria), but Shimron. To this I may add that the bitter warfare between Manasseh and Ephraim, spoken of in the MT. of v. 20—

Manasseh (devoured) Ephraim, and Ephraim Manasseh,
United were they against Judah,

is in itself not probable. May not מְנַשֶּׁה be a scribe's alteration of שִׁמְרֹן? That the Simeonites were accustomed to make raids on the southern border-lands, we gather from 1 Chr. iv. 39-43. It is probable enough that they did not confine their depredations to Yerahme'elite or Amalekite, but also harassed the N. Arabian region occupied by the Israelites, and apparently known as Ephraim. That these two combined against Judah is not known from other sources.

A still more interesting passage is x. 1-4. The first part of this strophe (vv. 1, 2) does not suit the context; it seems to have been substituted for some illegible words of the original text.¹ But our interest centres, I think, on the latter part (v. 4). The text as it stands would certainly not be recognised by Isaiah, and Lagarde's attempted restoration,² which introduces Beltis and Osiris as fallen deities, is open to several objections,³ to which one may now add that it does not appear from the excavations that Beltis and Osiris were favourite deities in ancient Palestine. Further, it appears to me that Lagarde's criticism was too mechanical, and that he did not sufficiently consider the

¹ Cp. Cheyne, *Intr. Is.* p. 46.

² *Academy*, December 15, 1870 = *Symmicta*, i. 105; cp. *Semitica*, i. 19 f.; *Mittheil.* 1884, p. 210.

³ Cheyne, *Proph. Is.* (3) ii. 144; *SBOT*, 'Isaiah' (Heb. ed.), p. 85. Marti's reply is not satisfactory; Beltis cannot be simply identified with the Egyptian Isis. Cp. Cooke, *North Semitic Inscr.* p. 21.

habits of the scribes. I agree, however, that **בלתי** and **אסיר** cover over proper names, and in looking out for possible names I think it only reasonable to consider results already gained elsewhere. It is practically certain¹ that in Ex. xxii. 19; 2 K. xxiii. 10, **בלתי** has been miswritten for **יחבל**, i.e. **ישמעאל** = **ישמעאל**; and highly probable that **אסיר**, both here and in 1 Chr. iii. 17, is a corrupt form of **אשור** (the nearer N. Arabian Asshur), and that the hitherto uncriticised word **הורגים**, like **הורג** in Hos. ix. 13 (see note), has developed out of **הגר**, the eponym of the Hagrites. Probably we should read **הגרים**. The only real trouble is with the two **תחת**. The first has probably arisen through assimilation. But what of the second? Must there not have been a time far back when even the earlier **תחת** was something else, viz. either **חתת** (a Kenizzite name, 1 Chr. iv. 13), or, better, **חדר** (an Ishmaelite name, Gen. xxv. 15; 1 Chr. i. 30)? Thus we obtain the sense—

Ishmael boweth, Asshur is broken down,
Hadad and Hagrid fall.

That is, the peoples nearest to the southern Ephraim are (in the prophet's imagination) as good as ruined by a terrible invading foe; and how (cp. xx. 6) should Ephraim escape?

And whence will the invader come, and what will he be like? That we learn from the closing strophe of the prophetic poem, which is rightly held to be v. 26-30.² The parallelisms between this passage and prophecies in Jeremiah³ (e.g. Jer. iv. 13, v. 15) suggest that the invaders thought of were either Scythians,⁴ or, better, the more distant N. Arabian Asshurites. It should be noted that the horses and chariots of Asshur were famed for their swiftness (Nah. iii. 2; cp. v. 18), and that the king of Meluha is said by Sennacherib to have brought 'bowmen, chariots, and horses' to Eltekeh.⁵ See also on xxxi. 1.

¹ *T. and B.* pp. 28 f.; *D. and F.* p. 24.

² Cheyne, *Intr. Is.* pp. 24-26, 47.

³ *D. and F.* pp. 41 f.

⁴ So Winckler and Peiser (*E. Bib.* col. 2195).

⁵ Cp. *T. and B.* pp. 462-4; *D. and F.* pp. 70 f., 110, 130.

ISAIAH x. 5-15

We now come to an imperfectly preserved prophecy, not without flashes of Isaiah's genius, but difficult to reconcile with other prophecies in which Isaiah unmistakably adopts a pessimistic attitude towards the political future (see on chaps. v., vi., xxii.). Did the prophet, owing to some change of circumstances, become at once more hopeful for Judah and more severe towards Asshur? The easiest solution of the problem is, that while not altering the doom of Judah, which is national extinction, Isaiah foretells the future punishment of Asshur for his overweening pride and perhaps for overstepping the limits of the commission given him by Yahweh. It may be well here to add something about the religious relation between the more distant N. Arabian Asshur on the one hand and the nearer Yerahme'elite kingdoms and the kingdom of Judah on the other. It is a very plausible view that in 2 K. xix. 36 *f.* (Isa. xxxvii. 37 *f.*) there is a confusion between the Assyrian king Sennacherib and a N. Arabian Asshurite king, and that the temple in which the king was worshipping when he was murdered was that of a N. Arabian god, whose name might be corrupted into נסרד; such a name is רכמן, *i.e.* ירחמאל.¹ The city where the Asshurite king was dwelling was not Nineveh, but Yewānāh, the divine patroness of which was, apparently, Ashtart.² Thus we get the name of the divine duad which the king worshipped; it was the same combination of deities which was prevalent throughout N. Arabia and also in Canaan. One might think that this community of cults would produce sympathy between the peoples. But the fact of such a community was easily forgotten, especially when the original divine names underwent alteration. Still it is possible that the cruelty of the Asshurites has been more or less exaggerated, and that Isaiah's statement of a commission granted by Yahweh to the king of Asshur was accepted by that king as a reality.³

¹ Similar corruptions are Nimrod and Karnaim (see *T. and B.* pp. 183, 240 *f.*; *Crit. Bib.* p. 387).

² See on Nah. ii. 7 (Huṣṣab), 8 (Nineveh).

³ See on Rab-shakeh's speech, xxxvi. 10; and *D. and F.* p. 89.

In this prophecy, however, Isaiah certainly blames 'Asshur' for not paying deference to Yahweh. 'Asshur' was but Yahweh's agent, sent by him to punish a people (or, perhaps, peoples) which had lapsed into impiety (x. 6; cp. ix. 16). Asshur's thoughts and calculations were not such as became the 'rod of Yahweh's anger.'

But he—not so does he plan,
And his mind, not so does it reckon;
For extirpation is in his mind,
And to cut off nations not a few (*v.* 7).

But Isaiah has not fully expressed his meaning. Not the vindication of the honour of Yahweh is in the mind of the enemy, but mere self-aggrandisement. So he imagines the Asshurite king as saying—

By the strength of my hand have I done it,
And by my wisdom, for I have discernment;
And I removed the bounds of the peoples,
And their treasures I plundered (*v.* 13).

The king's name is called Asshur, for he is the impersonation of the most prominent qualities of his people. By Asshur the prophet does not mean Assyria, for, as a gloss informs us, *this* Asshur is 'in Yarḥam,' *i.e.* in the Yarḥamite region of N. Arabia. That there should be so many geographical glosses is not surprising, nor can we wonder that these glosses have often been miswritten, so that, for instance, *בירחם* became the senseless *בירם*.¹ It is the king of this N. Arabian region who now poses, not merely as suzerain of the smaller Yerahme'elite districts, but as an empire-maker. He proudly recites the names of the cities which he has conquered and annexed, and declares that Jerusalem shall share their lot. Presumably the cities are in N. Arabia. In fact, we have a right to suppose this, because we know from xxviii. 1-4 (see note) that the Shimron whose capture filled Isaiah's mind was in N. Arabia.

¹ That x. 5 *b* represents a gloss, was first seen by Hitzig in 1831. But how shall we understand the gloss? Did the scribe take offence at the statement (*v.* 5 *a*) that Asshur was himself Yahweh's rod, and therefore remind the reader that, strictly speaking, the rod was in the hand of the Assyrians? How incredible!

'Kalno' is obscure (see p. 201), but 'Karkemish' may well have developed, under the scribe's hand, out of 'Rekem-Kush'¹ (= Kushite Yarham). Hamath is a southern place of that name.² 'Arpad' is a short way of writing 'Arpakshad'³ (*i.e.* Arabia of Kashram; cp. Ⲁ, 'Apaβlav). Of Shōmērōn (Shimron) and Dammešek (Ramshak) I have had more than one occasion to speak already. Similar criticism produces similar results in the closely parallel passages Am. vi. 2, Nah. iii. 8 f.⁴

It appears that to all these cities, which may represent so many small districts, Isaiah gives the title of 'kingdoms of Yerahme'el' (v. 10). The text, it is true, has ממלכת האליל, but such a phrase would never have been put into the mouth of an idolatrous king, and we have already seen (on ii. 18) that אליל is one of the popular distortions of ירחמאל. The further references (in vv. 10 b, 11) to idols and images are surely not due to Isaiah. But though both x. 5-15 and x. 16-34 contain non-Isaian matter, yet the redactor of the former section at any rate may have had some words and phrases of Isaiah before him, among which we must include ממלכת אליל. Possibly he misunderstood the meaning of אליל, for he prefixed the article and developed a question which Asshur is supposed to ask, about Asshur's treating Jerusalem and its images as he had treated Samaria and its idols. This is the easiest view; I am not sure, however, that it is really the best. The grammar of the second stichus of v. 10 is very doubtful, and we ought not to make the redactors, who are sometimes admittedly so clever, unscholarly and dull when it suits our convenience. I think it more probable, therefore, that the second stichus of v. 10 has arisen out of geographical glosses on אליל, which I would read מישמעאל ומשמרון⁵ הוא ישבל הם, 'it is Yishbal; they (*i.e.* the kingdoms) belong to Ishmael and to Shimron.' And in the third and fourth stichi must we not in like manner correct the improbable אליליה and

¹ *D. and F.* pp. 37, 40 (n. 1).

² See on Am. vi. 2, and *T. and B.* p. 196, and note that in Isa. xi. 11 Hamath follows Shinar, a N. Arabian regional name (*T. and B.* p. 185).

³ *Ibid.* p. 178.

⁴ *D. and F.* pp. 40 f.

⁵ 'Jerusalem' and 'Ishmael' are sometimes confounded.

עצרה into words expressive of the great strength of Jerusalem and Shimron, which, strong as they were, Asshur was able to overcome? I venture to suppose that אליליה has grown out of אל', the right word would be אלמנותיה (Isa. xiii. 22), and עצרה out of סבצירה. Omitting the glosses, the sense produced is:

'As my hand has grasped the kingdoms of Yerahme'el, shall I not, as I have done to Shimron and her castles, so do to Jerusalem and her forts?'

Verses 13 and 14 are certainly Isaiah's work. They should form two stanzas of six lines each, but line 5 of the former stanza has fallen out. Nor is this the only drawback to our happiness. There is a very strange phrase in *st.* i. *l.* 6—so strange that even moderate critics have been compelled to attempt a correction. The difficulty already existed in B's time; the Greek rendering must surely be a guess. The true reading appears to be וואוריד כבוד ישבלים, 'and I brought down the glory of the Ishbalites (Ishmaelites),' which should accordingly be joined on as *l.* 6 to the four lines of *v.* 13 quoted above. We have already seen that Ishbal or Ishmael is = Yerahme'el, and we have parallels to the phrase כבוד יש' in xvi. 14, xvii. 4.

It is doubtful whether any part of x. 16-34 can safely be ascribed to Isaiah, and yet the emphatic דורי which opens x. 5, and the displeasure implied in the contrast between Yahweh's and Asshur's plans, suggests that Isaiah's original prophecy (if it be Isaiah's) must have contained a threat of punishment for Asshur. What is intended by this name in x. 24, is disputed. According to Duhm and Marti, it is the Græco-Syrian kingdom of the age of the Diadochi. I regret that I cannot agree with these able scholars. There are, it seems to me, abundant indications that the supplementers and glossators perceived and understood the references of Isaiah and other prophets to N. Arabia, and endeavoured to make the inserted passages consistent with those indications. Consequently, when in such passages we find the regional names Asshur and Mišrim, there is no reason for not explaining them of the N. Arabian Asshur and the N. Arabian Mišrim respectively (see *D. and F.* Introd.). The names appear in later times to have acquired a typical

or symbolical value. And so, in x. 34, where **בְּרוּל** has always been a stumbling-block to critics, I see no reason why we should not give **בְּרוּל** the sense which it has again and again elsewhere,¹ of 'Ishmaelite Arabia' (**עֶרֶב יִשְׁמַעֵאל**). Marti proposes the rough and ready expedient of omitting **בְּרוּל** as a superfluity. But how did it come in? Marti cannot answer this question. But clearly 'in Ishmaelite Arabia' is a gloss, and presumably it states where the great blow from the Divine Chastiser will fall. At this point one may fitly add that the difficult **עַל-דִּים** (v. 26), which Winckler has tried to correct, may be explained from parallel passages as **עַל-יָם**, where **יָם**, as in xxvii. 1 and elsewhere,² and in the royal name **יָמָן**³ (1 K. xiv. 31), is the short for **יָמָן** Yaman = Yerahme'el. The prefixed article, as so often, is redactional.

In x. 27 b-34 we have a piece of imaginative writing, ill connected with the context, which, rather unconsecutively, describes the advance of the (Asshurite) foe, and the flight of the country people. It is characterised, like the parallel passage Mic. i. 10-15, by a striking use of paronomasia. Its date and authorship cannot be determined otherwise than negatively (*i.e.* it is not Isaiah's, and hardly pre-exilic), but we may remember that Jeremiah too, 'in prophetic imagination, summons the Judaite inhabitants of the south border-land to take refuge in the fortified cities, especially in Zion or Jerusalem (Jer. iv. 5f., vi. 1).'⁴ Into the place-names I will not venture here, but there are some words that introduce the poem which seem to me critically important enough to be referred to.

They are the much disputed words **עַל מַפְנֵי שָׁמֶן**, 'and the yoke shall be ruined because of oil.' May we suppose that **רוּחַבֵּל** is a corruption of **רוּחָדֵל**, and then expand **עַל** into **עֲלָה**, and continue **מִצְפֹּן שָׁדָר**. So thought Robertson Smith,⁵ but the correction is partly too violent, partly not radical enough. As Secker long ago saw, **מַפְנֵי** should be **מַבְנֵי**, and as Secker could not be expected to see, **שָׁמֶן** comes

¹ *T. and B.* p. 109 (with n. 2); *D. and F.* pp. 141, 144.

² See *T. and B.* p. 6, n. 3.

³ **יָמָן**, not 'the father of the sea,' but 'Arab-Yaman' = 'Yamanite Arabia.' Cp. *Ahiyāmi* (= 'Ashḥur-Yaman'), and see *T. and B.* pp. 29, 408 f.

⁴ *D. and F.* p. 64.

⁵ *Journal of Philology*, xiii. (1885), 62 ff.

from יִשְׁמָן, *i.e.* יִשְׁמַעֲלָל. The probability that this is right can hardly be overrated; the corrections are of every-day occurrence. רַחְבֵּל is not quite so transparent. But the best way to make sense of the phrase 'of the benê Ishman' is to suppose that רַחְבֵּל covers over the name of some one who belonged to the Ishmanite or Yarhamite race. Such a name would be Raḥbul, which we have already met with (as Rakbul) among the popular distortions of Yerahme'el. עַל should of course be pointed עָל; it has been accidentally transposed with רַחְבֵּל. Thus we get, עַל-רַחְבֵּל מִבְּנֵי יִשְׁמָן, 'concerning Raḥbul (Yerahme'el) of the benê Ishman.' This was originally the heading of the following prophetic poem; it has made its way in a corrupt form into the text, like other headings in ii. 20 (end) and xxx. 6. It is in fact probably the greatest of the Yerahme'elite or Ishmaelite kings who has set forth upon the war-path. Compare 'Hêlêl ben Shaḥar,' *i.e.* 'Yerahme'el ben Ashḥur,' in xiv. 12, and note the gloss in x. 5, 'it (Asshur) is in Yarham.' Like xiv. 4 b-21 it is most probably a late imaginative work.

MESSIANIC APPENDIX

xi. 1-8. I have already explained how impossible it is to conceive of Isaiah as inditing Messianic poems, and though such a poem might perhaps have been written before the exile by some other than Isaiah, yet how improbable it is that it should have come down to post-exilic times. There are, however, two points in xi. 1-8 which may be noticed here (cp. *Intr. Is.*). The first is that the Messiah is not the son of David but the son of Jesse. He is in fact the second David (cp. on Hos. iii. 5). The second, that the Messiah has a twofold capacity. He is the wise and righteous king of liberated Israel (*vv.* 1-5), and he is the king of Paradise (*vv.* 6-8); cp. Hos. ii. 20 (late). Just so the king of Paradise in Ezek. xxviii. is also the king of Sôr, *i.e.* Miššôr, and we remark in passing that the Israelite myth of Paradise and of the Messiah may have been derived from a Mišrite or Yerahme'elite source. Xisuthros, too, must have been at once king of the divine city and king of Babylon. See *T. and B.* p. 133.

CHAPTER XX

Certainly the late redactors thought that Asshur must have been punished for his arrogance, and they do appear to have had some justification for their view in the great though incomplete 'Woe' on Asshur (x. 5 *ff.*). Other prophecies, however, seem to suggest that Isaiah soon returned to his original pessimism. Let us take first chap. xx. Here for the first and only time we find Isaiah appearing as a *mōfēth*, i.e. as a living omen or symbol (cp. viii. 18). The account is evidently derived from a biography of Isaiah, and cannot be altogether untrustworthy. It has, however, been redacted (*v.* 2 is a late insertion), and not only is the text in some disorder, but the historical setting of the prophecy seems to be inaccurate. As to the text, whoever will read Duhm's delectable note on the last four words of *v.* 4, will be inclined, I think, to doubt their correctness. From our present point of view, three of the four words can be emended with certainty. שַׁת, as in Num. xxiv. 17, should be שֶׁתָּר = אֲשֶׁתָּר;¹ עֲרֹת should be either עֲשֶׁתָּר or עֲשֶׁת־רֹת,² and though this is not a *textual* emendation, מִצָּרִים should be מִצָּרִים. חֲשׁוּפֵי is more difficult. But חֲשׁוּפָה occurs in Ezr. vi. 43, as the name of a family of Nethinim. Now the families recorded in the list are, as has been shown, N. Arabian; indeed, underneath 'Nethinim' itself lies 'Ethanim.'³ Altogether, the probability is that 'Ḥašupha' should be read for 'Ḥašuphai' or (as the moderns) 'Ḥašuphê.' The result throws a new light on the meaning of *v.* 4, which will now run thus:

'So shall the king of Asshur lead away the captives of Mišrim and the exiles of Kush, young and old, naked and barefoot, to Ḥašupha-Ashtar' (*gloss*, 'Ashtaroth-Mišrim').

Thus the almost inevitable restoration of חֲשׁוּפָה for חֲשׁוּפֵי has disclosed to us the true historical setting of Isaiah's oracle. That Isaiah should have expected the deportation of the Egyptians and Ethiopians by the Assyrians,⁴ is very

¹ Cp. Shethar-Bozenai (Ezr. v. 3) = Ashtar-Šib'oni, i.e. one of Ashtar-Šib'on; and see *T. and B.* p. 110.

² Cp. עֲשֶׁת־רֹת from עֲשֶׁת־רֹת.

³ See *E. Bib.* 'Nethinim.'

⁴ So, with the majority, Cheyne, *Intr. Is.* pp. 119 *f.*; the new light, however, is recognised in *SBOT*, 'Isaiah' (Hebrew ed.), p. 98, note on xx. 3 in square brackets.

unlikely. The conquest of Egypt and Ethiopia by Assyria was not one of the events looming on the prophet's horizon. מִצְרַיִם and כּוּשׁ must therefore mean the Mišrim and Kush in N. Arabia.¹ There is a well-known passage in an inscription, of Sargon² (Khors. 27), in which the people of Philistia, Judah, Edom, and Moab, are said to have attempted an alliance with Pir'u, king of Mušuri, 'a prince who could not deliver them' (cp. xxx. 5-7; Jer. ii. 36). This Mušuri is the מִצְרַיִם of Isa. xx. The catastrophe announced by Isaiah, however, was to come, not from Sargon, but from a N. Arabian power, with which we have already become acquainted (see on vii.-viii., v. 26-30, x. 5) as Asšhur or Ašhur. The prophet is well assured that the inhabitants of the south of Palestine would take notice of the event, and fear for themselves. At the time when the oracle was given, they were in alliance with Mišrim. It is inevitable, therefore, to assume a confusion in the redactor's mind between one capture of Ashdod by a N. Arabian Asšhurite king, and another by the Assyrian king Sargon.³ There may even have been two Ashdods, for Ashdod is the short for Asšhur-Dōd, where Asšhur is a part of the wide Asšhurite region nearer to Palestine than the so-called kingdom of Asšhur, also in N. Arabia.

A CYCLE OF PROPHECIES ON INVASION AND CAPTIVITY

Chap. xxviii. 1-4. I should much like to be still able to assign vv. 1-4 to the year preceding the successful siege of Samaria by the Assyrians. But a keen textual criticism of this and the other Isaian passages in xxviii.-xxxi. has shown me that the historical framework is still N. Arabian. What the first section (vv. 1-4) contains is an impassioned announcement of the impending fall of a place—probably Shimron—in the Israelite part of the N. Arabian borderland. Apparently the invading army had not yet violated Israelite soil, but might shortly be expected. The disorder

¹ See Winckler, *Mušri, Meluḥḥa, Ma'in* in *Mittheil. der Vorderasiat. Ges.* 1890, *Nachtrag*, p. 4; Hommel, *Aufsätze*, iii. 306.

² Gressmann, *Texte*, i. 119.

³ *D. and F.* p. 88.

of the text is caused by glosses which, in a corrupt form, have penetrated into the text. The whole of *v.* 1 *b* and *v.* 4 *a* β has therefore to be omitted. The glosses¹ as corrupted are (*a*) גֵּיא־שִׁמְנִים, אֲשֶׁר עַל־רֹאשׁ (b) הַלְרֹמִי, and (c) יִין. In (*a*), however, שִׁמְנִים should be יִשְׁמָנִים, 'Ishmannites,' i.e. 'Ishmaelites' (cp. on x. 27, end). In (*b*) הַלְרֹמִי comes from הַר־חֶמְלַל; and in (*c*) יִין = יוֹן, i.e. יָמֶן.² The glosses are therefore geographical—a common occurrence. The doomed, nameless city is said in (*a*) to be 'on the highest point of the valley of the Ishmannites (Ishmaelites)'; in (*b*) and (*c*) a further explanation is added, viz. that 'Ishmannim' is = 'Yerahme'el,' or as an alternative = 'Yaman.' The valley spoken of in (*a*) may perhaps be the familiar גֵּיא מֶלַח, which means, not 'the valley of salt' (!), but 'the valley of Yerahme'el'; (*b*) and (*c*) strongly favour this. Ephraim (*vv.* 1, 3) is of course the southern Ephraim.³ A reference to the commentaries (e.g. Marti's) will show, not only how perplexing the traditional text is, but how inadequate the attempts to deal with it have been. Naturally enough, for the critical point of view needs much widening. If, however, any one can produce a fuller explanation he will have my willing support. I may add a reference to x. 9-11, and to the doom of Shimron in Amos (vi. 1-7). When was the doom carried out? Is it possible that 2 K. xvii. 6 *a* refers to the fulfilment of the prophetic threats?⁴

xxviii. 7-13.—Jerusalem is not yet indeed as badly off as Sodom, but morally it is no better than Shimron. Isaiah has a prophetic message both to Jerusalem and to Shimron. And so after having pronounced the doom of the Shimronites, who have deadened their higher and finer instincts by wine-drinking, the prophet begins a fresh cycle of warnings to the Jerusalemites by a declaration that 'these too (וְגַם אֵלֶּה) reel with wine and stagger with mead,' and the priests and prophets are specially stigmatised (*v.* 7). Probably they have been taking part in a sacrificial feast, and the prophets, at any rate, may have sought to be stirred up to the right pitch of enthusiasm for the reception of oracles,—oracles which, as a matter of course (cp. Am. v. 18 *a*), would be

¹ See *D. and F.* p. 88 (n. 1).

³ See on ix. 8, xvii. 3.

² See on Hos. iv. 11.

⁴ *D. and F.* p. 88.

reassuring to believers in sacrifices. Whether *vv.* 7, 8 are, at least as far as the text is complete, correctly transmitted, seems doubtful. I have done my best to restore a more original text in *Crit. Bib.* p. 144 (foot). On the present occasion I shall devote myself to the rest of the section, *vv.* 9-13.

Isaiah, it appears, met with some of those who had, in their own mistaken way, been 'rejoicing before Yahweh.' In *vv.* 9 *f.* these blatant religious optimists declare that Isaiah's stammering reports of his 'auditions' (שמועה) are only fit to be told to 'weanlings just parted from the breast,' *i.e.* to persons of childish intellects. Isaiah parries the blow, and announces that the words which seem to his opponents mere senseless stammering (like that of the *nebi'im*, p. 14) will one day compel attention (*v.* 11), and the announcements of impending danger will be verified by events (*i.e.* by God in history). But here let us pause, and look underneath those mysterious words in *v.* 10, which presumably represent the repulsively monotonous themes of Isaiah's preaching. The words are צו, קו, and ועיר. The easiest at a first glance is the third. But is it really so? If the meaning of ועיר is so clear, ought it not to guide us to the meaning of the other two? Yet it certainly does not, and this may well make us question whether ועיר, 'a little,' is what the prophet really meant. In these circumstances we may fairly accept suggestions from the theory which has thrown such a bright light on the opening section. I would therefore 'venture to trace צו to צב' (*i.e.* צבעין), קו to קר' (*i.e.* קרם), and ועיר¹ to אשר = עזור. Šib'on, need I repeat? is a form of Ishmael, K̄erem (like Reḳem) of Yarḥam or Yerahme'el, while Asshur may perhaps bear a double application, *viz.* to the N. Arabian Asshur and to Assyria. Certainly thus far it would be correct to say that Ishmael, Yerahme'el, and Asshur were at the centre of Isaiah's prophetic addresses, and since the Asshurite king was Yahweh's instrument, it would be strictly accurate to say that through his stammering, *i.e.* foreign tongue, Yahweh himself would speak to the

¹ A very rare form (Isa. xxviii. 10, 13; Job xxxvi. 2). 'Azzur occurs as a post-exilic name among others which are, largely at any rate, of N. Arabian affinities. Quite possibly 'Azzur and 'Asshur may be equivalent.

Judaïtes. True, moreover, that, when the Asshurites captured Jerusalem, Isaiah's repeated calls, 'Ishmael, Yerahme'el, Asshur,' would be to the startled people the very word of Yahweh (*v.* 13).

It will indeed be a 'strange' work (*v.* 21), for Yahweh will be as angry with his own people as formerly he was with the Perašim or Šarephathites (see p. 343, n. 1).

xxix. 1-8.—Yahweh's 'strange and wonderful' work on Jerusalem (xxviii. 21, xxix. 14). The prophecy begins, according to the text,

Ah, Ariel, Ariel, | City where David encamped.

But which of the different explanations of 'Ariel' can we adopt? Neither 'God's lion' (Ewald) nor 'hearth of sacrifice' (Duhm) commends itself. In my latest *Isaiah*¹ I proposed the view, which Marti also favours, that Isaiah meant Uriel, a modification of Urushalim, the presumed older form of 'Jerusalem'; the form may have been chosen to produce a paronomasia with *arial*, 'altar-hearth.' This appears to me more natural than the older views. It is, however, I can now admit, only a step in the right direction. The name used by Isaiah ought to be more completely equivalent to Urushalim or Irushalem, which must surely mean 'city of Shalem'² (*i.e.* 'of Ishmael'). It may help us to recall to mind some former results, viz. 1, that Ishmael and Yerahme'el are interchangeable; 2, that אריאל (like ערל, see *T. and B.* p. 412) is one of the current corruptions of ירחמאל;³ and 3, that the Jebusites who anciently inhabited Jerusalem were, as their name indicates, a tribe of Ishmaelites,⁴ *i.e.* of Yerahme'elites. Putting all this together, we see that, here as elsewhere, 'Ariel' (like the parallel from Yeruel) means 'Yerahme'el'; the name was used, we may be sure, not from any mere antiquarian interest, but to convey the idea that Jerusalem, for a time Yahweh's city, had relapsed into N. Arabian heathenism (*cp.* Ezek. xvi. 3),—too severe a judgment, no doubt, but severity was a leading characteristic of our prophet and his school.

But what as to קרית חנה דוד, 'city where David

¹ *SBOT*, 'Isaiah,' Heb. ed. p. 99.

² *T. and B.* p. 407 (foot).

³ *Crit. Bib.* on 2 S. xxiii. 20.

⁴ *Ibid.* on 2 S. v. 8.

encamped'? Is this ambiguous phrase a probable description of Jerusalem? According to Marti, חָנָה means 'made his royal residence,' but by far the most natural rendering is 'besieged'; indeed, but for the supposed reference to David no one would have thought of Marti's paraphrase. Surely it is some siege of Jerusalem subsequent to David's selection of that city to be his capital that must be referred to, and Isaiah wishes to suggest that, just as formerly, Jerusalem was besieged (and taken) by a foreign foe, and so, at no great distance of time, shall it be besieged (and taken) by the most ruthless of enemies. This, of course, implies that the subject of חָנָה in the original text was not דָּוִד, a result which is in itself probable, for the pre-exilic prophets, at any rate, do not appear to refer to this hero of legend. Isa. xxviii. 21 and Am. vi. 5 may, it is true, be quoted in opposition,¹ but in both cases mistakenly. One can hardly avoid concluding that דָּוִד in xxix. 1 (like דָּוִד in כְּדָוִד,² v. 3) is to be pointed דֹּד, and that Dōd, which is a regional, is either a synonym for Asshur, or the short for 'Ashdod,' and further that 'Ashdod' may be now and then miswritten for 'Asshur.'³ After weighing all possible solutions,⁴ I come to the conclusion that Isaiah dictated, not 'David,' but either 'Dod' or 'Ashdod' (or perhaps 'Asshur'), and that we do justice to his meaning if we explain 'city against which Asshur encamped.' The allusion is to some siege of Jerusalem by N. Arabian Asshurites (in the wider sense), perhaps to the capture of the city by Shishak, king of Miṣrim⁵ (1 K. xiv. 25 f.).

Isaiah continues by announcing that soon, very soon—perhaps when the yearly festivals have once more gone round—Yahweh will sorely distress Ariel, and 'it shall be to me כְּאֵרִיאל.' What does this last word mean? Ariel

¹ In Isa. xxviii. 21 the allusion is not to 2 S. v. 20 (Baal-perašim) but to some disaster to the N. Arabians, such as may be referred to in Isa. xvii. 5 (see p. 326). 'Perašim' may come from Šarephathim. Am. vi. 5 is explained elsewhere (p. 199).

² 5 presupposes דָּוִד, which Lowth and others read.

³ See on Am. vi. 5, and *T. and B.* p. 47.

⁴ Especially those of Winckler (*Gesch. Israels*, ii. 255), Duhm, and Marti.

⁵ *D. and F.* pp. 86-88.

(so we should probably read) in Ezekiel means 'altar-hearth'; Isaiah may mean that Jerusalem, when taken, will overflow with the blood of men as an altar-hearth overflows with the blood of sacrificial victims.¹ Possibly, however, אֶרֶאֱל in v. 2 b should rather be אֶרֶאֱל, *i.e.* Arâl, a rare synonym for She'ol, the world of the dead. This should be taken together with O.T. passages in which there are traces of a belief in Yerahme'el as the god of the city of the dead.² Arâl (the Babylonian Arâlu)³ is very possibly a derivative of Yerahme'el, and indeed She'ol of Ishmael. This theory too would produce a good sense for the last stichus of v. 2, 'and it shall be to me like the city of the dead.' And it has what I venture to think a great advantage, viz. consistency with v. 4, which begins thus:

Then, being humbled, thou wilt speak from the earth,
And from the dust will thy speech come submissively.

A gloss is appended to this, leaving no room for misapprehension, 'And thy voice will be like that of a ghost from the earth, and from the dust thy speech will chirp.' 'Earth' and 'dust' signify not only the ruins of the destroyed city, but the world of the dead. Isaiah's meaning may be that Jerusalem and its humiliated people are, in God's sight, no better than Arâl or She'ol and its abject inhabitants (cp. v. 14).

xxix. 15, xxx. 1-5, 6 f., xxxi. 1-3.—Theme, the Mišrite alliance.—Such is the future which Isaiah paints for his fellow-citizens. The politicians, however, and those who are misled by them, reject the warning. There is another people whose interest it is, not less than their own, to repel the advancing Asshurites. An alliance with the Mišrites will, it is pronounced, justify the Judaites in resisting the demands of the N. Arabian invaders. Prudence suggests that the plan be kept in the dark (xxix. 15), but Isaiah, either by his intuitive sagacity, or through high connexions,

¹ *SBOT*, 'Isaiah,' Heb. ed. p. 99; cp. *Intr. Is.* p. 187 f.

² See *T. and B.* p. 54.

³ אֶרֶאֱל and Bab. Arâlu were first connected by J. Halévy. More recently A. Jeremias has proposed the same view, which in 1907 I adopted, and in 1908 Staerk. For my own addition see above.

has become aware of it. In chap. xxx. the prophet speaks of negotiations with Mišrim as in progress. Already the representatives of Judah are on the road thither, without the sanction of Yahweh's true prophet (xxx. 2), though prophets of a meaner type must, according to custom, have been consulted. Their object hardly needed to be mentioned, but, as Isaiah's thoughts are in a future time, he does mention it,—‘To flee to the shelter of פִּרְעָה, and to seek refuge in the shadow of מִצְרַיִם.’ That מִצְרַיִם is not necessarily Egypt, and indeed in this context is much more probably the N. Arabian land of Mušri, has been pointed out elsewhere.¹ The question of פִּרְעָה is not quite so easily settled, but if the name in the parallel line is that of a N. Arabian kingdom, it becomes probable at once that פִּרְעָה is a slightly altered form of some royal Mišrite name, and most obviously of Pir'u, which we know to have been the name of a king of Mušri in the time of Sargon,² and was possibly much older. But Isaiah ruthlessly crushes the high hopes of the pro-Mišrite party,—‘The shelter will turn to your shame, and the refuge to your confusion’ (v. 3). Nor does the prophet say this in unreflecting self-confidence; in vv. 4, 5, he mentions a reasonable historical ground

For as often as princes have encamped in Šib'on,
And ambassadors have arrived at Naphtaḥas,
They have all brought presents to a strengthless people,
To a people which bringeth no help,
But disappointment and also disgrace.

Here the text begins to be more troublesome; not only the two place-names but other words in this graphic passage excite suspicion. Parallels elsewhere, however, enable us to correct the errors of scribes and correctors.³ Šib'on, it will

¹ Cheyne, *Bible Problems*, pp. 167-178; ‘Isaiah,’ in *SBOT*; *D. and F.* p. xli.; Hommel, *Aufsätze*, p. 308. Alt, *Israel in Aegypten*, pp. 84 ff., passes over the question.

² *KB*, ii. 55. On the ‘Pharaoh’ question see *T. and B.* pp. 223 f., but cp. Winckler, *KAT*⁽³⁾, p. 70 (n. 2), and articles on Pharaoh in *E. Bib.* and *Dict. Bib.*

³ Read thus, בִּי חָנוּ בְּצַבְעוֹן שָׂרִים וְכֹלָאֲמִיִּים נִפְתָּחַם יָגִיעוּ. For צַבְעוֹן instead of צָעֶן see *T. and B.* p. 227 (n. 2), 425, and for נִפְתָּחַם instead of חָנַם *ibid.* p. 554. For Hommel's view, see his *Aufsätze*, p. 308. For the other corrections see my ‘Isaiah’ in *SBOT* (Heb. ed.), p. 102.

be remembered, is equivalent to Ishmael. Naphtahas, as it stands, is a new acquaintance, but Naphtuḥim is familiar to us from Gen. x. 13, and Nephtoah from Josh. xv. 9, while Has frequently represents Ashḥur in place-names and regionals. Thus Naphtahas (sometimes corrupted into Taḥpanḥes) will mean 'Ashḥurite Naphtaḥ,' which may equally well have been a place-name or a regional.¹ As has been already pointed out, the land of Miṣrim was regarded as a part of Asshur-Yerahme'el.

Here the first of the prophecies on the Miṣrite alliance closes. Verses 6 and 7 *a* are an appendix, or, more precisely, an imaginative passage on the same subject tacked on to it. Part of this is rather strikingly parallel to a fancifully descriptive passage by a scribe of Esar-haddon.² The heading, which has made its way into the text, deserves to be referred to partly because it shows how far astray the ancient scribes and redactors could go, and partly because, when restored to its original form, it shows that the 'N. Arabian theory' is not really modern. As the text stands, it runs, 'Oracle of the beasts of the south-land.' But only one 'beast' is mentioned, viz. the lion, so that 'behemoth' at any rate must be wrong. Can any fresh light be thrown upon the matter from other sources? My own experience leads me to answer in the affirmative.³ There are several cases in which בהמה or בהמות is a corruption of בחמת, i.e. עב-חמת, which represents עֶרֶב ח', 'Hamathite Arabia.' That there was a southern Hamath has been noticed already.⁴

A further support for this view is provided by *v.* 7 *b*, if we are not afraid of a keen textual criticism. As the text stands, Isaiah (or some other) appears to say, 'Therefore do I call this one (viz. Miṣrim), "Rahab (i.e. Pride)—they are home-keepers" (lit., "sitting").' Form and contents are alike strange. For instance 'Rahab' is supposed to be a title for the conquered dragon, the mythical antagonist of the Light-god. But the pre-exilic prophets hardly ever

¹ See *T. and B.* p. 191, and on xix. 13, Hos. ix. 6.

² See *KB*, ii. 131, 147; and cp. Winckler, *KAT*⁽³⁾, p. 173.

³ See Judg. xx. 48, Hab. ii. 17, Jon. iv. 11, and probably Ps. xxxvi. 7, and on these passages *D. and F.* p. 142; *Jewish Quart. Rev.*, Oct. 1907 (criticism of Habakkuk); *Crit. Bib.* on Jonah; and Ps.⁽²⁾

⁴ See on Am. vi. 2.

refer to mythology, and even if we assign *v.* 9 *b* to a redactor, yet we are bound to suppose him capable of lucid expression; cryptic phraseology would not be natural. There must therefore be textual corruption, and Marti has taken the first step towards curing it by suggesting that רהב הם may cover over בהמות. The whole passage (*v.* 7 *b*) becomes in his hands, 'Therefore have I (*i.e.* the redactor in the heading) called this one (*viz.* Egypt), Behemoth of the southland.' This most improbable result can hardly quite please any one.

What we have to do first is to find some reading which will equally well account for בהמות and for רהב הם, and that reading surely is עֵרֵב חֶמֶת. That it accounts for בהמות, we have seen, and who will not admit that, just as רם comes from אָרֶם, so רב (of which רהב is a mere expansion) may come from עֵרֵב,¹ and that הם, as probably in Gen. xiv. 5, may be miswritten for חם, which may be the short for חֶמֶת (written 'חמ')? Whatever view we take must, of course, be conjectural, but is there any other as complete an explanation as that now offered? We may suppose that there was a marginal gloss רבחת, corrective of the textual בהמות. As for לואת, we may take זאת to be a corruption of 'אשת, *i.e.* אשתו, while שבת, or, as we should rather read, בַּשָּׁת, is the property of the redactor, equally with לֹכֵן קְרֹאָתִי. In the redactor's time the marginal gloss was already corrupt. It should have run, לאשתו רבחת, but in the course of corruption had become something which the redactor chose to read as לואת רהב הם, to which he prefixed לֹכֵן קְרֹאָתִי, and appended בַּשָּׁת. The result, translated, is, 'Therefore do I call this one, Rahab (pride), they are (rather) disappointment.' This of course is not the original text, but it enables us to recover what may have been the true heading of the prophecy, *vv.* 6-7 *a*, *viz.* 'Concerning Ashtar, Arabia of Hamath.'

Thus, xxx. 1-5 and 6-7 *a* are two independent prophecies both referring to the journey of the Judaite ambassadors to Mišrim. The theory proposed in *SBOT*, 'Isaiah,' Heb. ed.,

¹ Cp. שָׂחַ, Gen. xlix. 3; שָׂחָו, Hab. i. 7 (*JQR*, art. referred to); שָׁח, Num. xxiv. 17; Isa. xx. 4 (p. 338). Underneath these lies אַשְׁתֹּר. See *T. and B.* p. 500. ו for ש as in וְבִל for אֲשַׁכֵּעַל.

p. 102, is therefore only a first step in the right direction. *Vv.* 8-17 are a *written* prophetic appendix. Note especially the allusion in *v.* 17 to the eschatological myth (cp. i. 8, xvii. 6).

We pass on to xxxi. 1-3, which is parallel to xxx. 1-3. One additional point is stated, viz., that the Judaite politicians rely on horses and on chariots and trust in horsemen. That there were horses in N. Arabia (whither the ambassadors were bound) appears from the testimony of the great Khorsabad inscription of Sargon (line 27), where the tribute paid to Sargon by Pir'u, king of Mušri, and others, is expressly said to have included horses. There is also probable biblical evidence, for which see *T. and B.* pp. 462 *f.*; see also on *v.* 28, also Winckler, *Musri* i. 6, 33; and Hommel, *Aufsätze*, iii. 308. Winckler restricted the N. Arabian reference to xxx. 6. The horses, however, are no match (xxxi. 3 *a*) for the *spiritual* beings who will aid Israel's enemy. Yes! strange to say, Israel's enemy has the spiritual forces against him. That is surely due to a supplementer. The enemy is still Asshur, and underneath the superfluous closing words of *v.* 3 we can perhaps detect a gloss on 'Asshur' in *v.* 8, viz. 'that is Ashḥur, king of Yerahme'el. Cp. the gloss in x. 3. On xxxii. 1-5 (8) I have nothing to add here (see *Intr. Is.* pp. 172-176), except that G. Bickell supposed Simon the Maccabee to be the 'king' spoken of. We should, however, in this case have expected some enthusiasm (cp. xi. 1-8).

TRADITION OF THE GREAT ASSHURITE INVASION

We have, unfortunately, no strictly historical account of the Asshurite invasion at this period. But the late narrative in 2 K. xviii. 17-xix. (Isa. xxxvi. 2-xxxvii.) most probably refers to this invasion, and we cannot ignore even what late and somewhat imaginative writers considered to have taken place. For though the narrative as it stands may here and there be somewhat romantic, it is undeniable that the leading outlines and presuppositions may be based on early traditions. Of these presuppositions I will ask leave to speak first; they seem to have a direct bearing on the

interpretation of Isaiah's prophecies. First of all, then, the narrator (I put aside the question of dual authorship) takes for granted that N. Arabian culture was potent in Judah, and that the party which held the reins of power at Jerusalem was pro-Miṣrite. Rab-shakeh, the Asshurite envoy, is made to ridicule Hezekiah's high officers for trusting in 'the staff of that splintered reed,¹ Miṣrim' (2 K. xviii. 21), and among the high officers mentioned we find one who bears the name of Shebna,² which, read in the light of Isa. xxii. 15 *f.*, stamps him as an immigrant from N. Arabia. His office was that of royal scribe, and from other sources (1 Chr. xviii. 16; 1 K. iv. 4) we know that N. Arabians were much in demand as scribes, and that no scribe's pen was so good as the Ishmaelitish or N. Arabian (see on Isa. viii. 1).

Another presupposition is that the king of Asshur (*i.e.* the more distant Asshur) claimed the suzerainty of all the minor N. Arabian kingdoms, among which he evidently reckons Judah. From 2 K. xviii. 19 we gather that he bore the title of 'the great king.' This occurs in a speech of Rab-shakeh. Later on (*vv.* 23 *f.*) the same speaker assumes that both Miṣrim and Asshur have horses and horsemen (*cp.* on v. 28, xxxi. 1). There were times, as we know, when Judah herself boasted of her horses and chariots (*ii.* 7, Mic. v. 9). Now, however, Rab-shakeh thinks it safe to assume that if his master were to send Hezekiah 2000 horses, Hezekiah would not be able to furnish them with riders. That being the case, he asks how the Judaite king will repel the onset of the least of the great king's servants (a gloss explains that 'Ashhurite governors' are meant³).

Still more important is another presupposition. In *v.* 25 Rab-shakeh is made to say:

'And now have I come up without Yahweh against this land to destroy it? Yahweh said to me, Go up against yon land and destroy it.'

¹ So Ezek. xxix. 6; *cp.* Isa. xxx. 3-7.

² See on xxii. 15 *f.*

³ The gloss runs, פָּחַת אֲשֻׁר, אֲשֻׁר. As I have repeatedly pointed out, אֲשֻׁר and אֲחֻר have often come from אֲשֻׁר.

This, according to the commentators, is grossly improbable. The 'haughty Assyrian' would never 'represent himself as acting in obedience to the command of the god of a small, despised people.'¹ When, however, we change our point of view, we learn to see Rabshakeh in a different and a truer light (see p. 332). The case is not unlike that of the chieftain Abimelech in Gen. xx., who recognises at once the prophetic character of Abraham and the claim of Yahweh on his obedience.² It may also be compared to that of Neko in 2 Chr. xxxv. 21 (the Chronicler is probably dependent on some earlier writer) who sends a message to Josiah to which that pious Yahwist could raise no objection. In short, it is not 'haughtiness' but faith which dictates Rab-shakeh's language. He has heard of Hebrew prophecies (e.g. x. 5, 6) in which Asshur appears as the commissioned agent of Yahweh, and he gives them all due credit. That Abimelech and 'Neko' were probably, according to the original tradition, N. Arabians, I have shown elsewhere.³ Is it not likely, then, that both Rab-shakeh and his master were originally regarded as N. Arabians, in fact as Asshurites? Nor must I withhold the suggestion that the name Rab-shakeh may be a redactor's modification of Rab-shak, i.e. 'Arab-Ashhur'.⁴ It will be remembered that regionals very often appear as secular personal names.

This is no mere vagary of modern criticism, but a step towards undoing the manifold errors of ancient redactors. It may, perhaps, be objected to the last suggestions that subsequent words of Rab-shakeh conflict with the respect shown to Yahweh in the quoted passage (*v.* 25). But these words occur in *vv.* 32 *b*–35, which are admittedly a later insertion.⁵ And to the idea that Asshur is probably a N. Arabian region it may be objected that *v.* 32 *a* points rather to Babylonia. To this I reply that 'some of the passages

¹ Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, Introd. p. xxxvii., note.

² *T. and B.* p. 314.

³ See *T. and B.* pp. 312–314; *D. and F.*, pp. 36, 38.

⁴ See *T. and B.* p. 159. That 'Rab' may represent 'Arāb' we have seen on xxx. 6. 'Shak' and 'Shak' often stand for Ashhur in compound regional names (see on 'Ramshak,' Am. iii. 12).

⁵ The parallel passage in 2 K. xix. 10–13 was evidently suggested in part by Isa. x. 9.

referring most probably to N. Arabia have been manipulated by a redactor who did not accept, or perhaps know, the tradition of Israel's residence in N. Arabia.' So it may be here, *i.e.* a redactor who knew more of Babylonia than of N. Arabia may have inserted in *v.* 32 the description of a fruitful land, such as Judaites could bear to take in exchange for their own land. And yet there appears to be plausible evidence elsewhere that in parts of the N. Arabian borderland, with the help no doubt of irrigation, the soil was anciently capable of producing grain.¹

I leave this matter of interpretation open. There may or may not be a confusion in *v.* 32 due to the imperfect historical knowledge of the redactor. But at any rate he has made a confusion between one invasion of Judah by Sennacherib and another by a N. Arabian Asshurite king. To the former belongs 2 K. xviii. 13 *b*-16; to the latter the remainder of the composite narrative,² *including the prophecies ascribed to Isaiah*, but really composed to fit the narratives.³ It is noteworthy that in one of these so-called prophecies David is referred to as having a special claim on Yahweh's protection—a claim which descended to the kings of his line (2 K. xix. 34). This idealisation of David belongs to a later age than that of Isaiah. Whether Isaiah ever prophesied the deliverance of Jerusalem is very doubtful. More and better evidence is wanted.

On the legend of the pestilence (2 K. xix. 35 = Isa. xxxvii. 36) see *Enc. Bib.*, 'Pestilence,' § 4, 'Sennacherib,' § 5. The prevalent explanation of Herod. ii. 141 is very questionable; I have ventured to deviate from the majority; Meinhold, independently, reaches similar views.

xxii. 15-19.—A N. ARABIAN COURTIER DENOUNCED

It is remarkable that, just as Amos not only prophesies the deportation of Israel in general, but singles out one leading personage to be threatened with 'death in a

¹ *D. and F.* pp. 147 *f.*; *T. and B.* pp. 453 *f.*

² *D. and F.* pp. 89 *f.*

³ This is very evident for 2 K. xix. 6 *f.*, 29-31, but is little less so for xix. 32-34.

polluted land' (Am. vii. 17), so Isaiah pronounces the same awful doom, not only on the people, but specially on one of its governors. It is also noteworthy that this very personage (apparently) figures among the high officers who, as representatives of Hezekiah, give audience to the Asshurite Rab-shakeh (2 K. xviii. 18). In that narrative Shebna bears the title of 'scribe' (*sōfēr*), but in Isa. xxii. 15 he is controller of the palace. His personality was not sympathetic to Isaiah, who regards him as an upstart, and threatens him with deposition and captivity. As a matter of fact, if the narrative in Kings is correct, Shebna was simply transferred to another office. The matter is not very important, but at least two points in this short passage are of real interest, viz. (1) the region to which Isaiah's enemy was to be deported, and (2) the origin of Shebna. (1) In *vv.* 17, 18*a* we read thus, following the MT. in the main, but leaving some hard words untranslated :

'Behold, Yahweh will hurl thee violently, O mighty man, and . . . ; he will roll thee together in a roll . . . into a wide-stretching land.'

The second of the two *lacunæ* is filled in the Hebrew by כדור, which is usually explained from Mishnic Hebrew as 'a ball.' It is plain, however, that 'in a roll, a ball, into a wide land' cannot be correct, and I cannot help thinking with Marti that the text may have been filled out by a redactor. It is natural to think that the announcement of the 'hurling' should include the mention of the place to which Shebna was to be hurled. Nor can כדור, without violence, be rendered 'like a ball,' because a word, דור, meaning 'a ball' does not exist. I am also sceptical about צנפה, which occurs nowhere else, and could be well spared. I suspect it to be a very early corruption of צפנדה; we know how often the invaders of Judah are said to come from צפון, *i.e.* not from the vague mysterious north, but from the distant N. Arabian Asshur, which also bore this name. And this at once gives us the key to כדור, which, as in xxix. 3, has come from כדוד, or rather, as the sense in our present passage requires, בְּדוֹד, 'in Dōd.' Dōd, as we have seen, is the equivalent of, or the short for, Ashdod, *i.e.* Asshur-Dōd.

'In Dōd' will be an early gloss on 'to Šāphon.' Omitting this and the redactional insertion, we obtain this sense for *vv.* 17, 18 *a*:

Behold, Yahweh will hurl thee violently
To Šaphon, to a land that stretches widely.

Šaphon or Asshur was therefore the land of Shebna's impending captivity.

2. As to the origin of Shebna. One might, in the first instance, suppose that Shebna derived his name from some Yerahme'elite family long ago settled in Judah. Anyhow, the name speaks for itself; שבנא or שבנה comes from שבן, *i.e.* שמן, which (see on x. 27) is = ישמן, *i.e.* ישמעאל (Ishmael and Yerahme'el are synonymous). It is to be grouped with שבניה, which, though liable to be confounded with שכניה, may at any rate be accepted in Neh. ix. 4 *f*., and in its fuller form שבניה¹ in 1 Chr. xv. 24. This is a Levitical name, and the Levites were undeniably to a large extent of N. Arabian origin. Our Shebna, it is true, was no Levite, but his name stamps him as at any rate of Ishmaelite or Yerahme'elite extraction, like so many of the Levites. We cannot, however, acquiesce in the word 'extraction.' Isaiah calls Shebna an intruder who had no place in the commonwealth of Israel. The land, he elsewhere complains, is full of Yerahme'elite priests (see on ii. 6); he might have added, and of Yerahme'elite scribes, for in Isa. viii. 1 we read of the 'pen of Ishmael,' and in Prov. xxv. 1 we should read, 'These also are proverbs of Ishmael,'² which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, transferred.'

In spite of Isaiah's invective Shebna may have been a useful politician, and the friendly relations between Judah and Mišrim may have been partly owing to him. Certainly, if we may trust the narrative, Rabshakeh reckoned Shebna among the friends of Mišrim equally with Eliaḳim and Joah. At the same time the religious influence of men like Shebna may have been very dangerous (*cp.* pp. 30, 304).

¹ Yāhū in such forms has its origin in Yaḥu, *i.e.* Yarḥu = Yerahme'el. The origin, of course, passed comparatively early into oblivion. See *T. and B.* p. 66.

² Again in Prov. x. 1 (see *T. and B.* p. 40 (n. 3)).

xxii. 1-14.—THE SENTENCE OF DEATH

The re-investigation of this difficult but fascinating prophecy must start from the place-names. One such name meets us, both in the heading and in *v.* 5. The name *גִּי חוּרִין* (valley of vision, or of prophecy?), however, cannot be right. It is plausible to read *גִּי הַנֶּבִּים*. So, at least, I have proposed, with the assent of Marti, in *SBOT*, 'Isaiah,' p. 112. Let me add that I am willing to leave the question of the original form of *הַנֶּבִּים* open.¹ Much more important are the names in *v.* 6. Indeed, only by omitting this verse can the reference of the prophecy to a blockade of Jerusalem by Sennacherib's general be made even plausible. The reason of this statement is that Elam had a very bad reputation with the Assyrians for amenableness, and that it is unlikely that rebellious Elam and far-off *Ḳir* (I assume the ordinary views respecting Asshur, Elam, and *Ḳir*) would be selected by Sennacherib for the duty of investing Jerusalem.² Verse 6, then, must have been either inserted by some ill-informed scribe, or else we critics do not rightly understand the names 'Elam' and '*Ḳir*.' Let us suppose the latter to be the case, and that the danger which has impended over Judah is that of an Asshurite and not an Assyrian invasion. If so, it becomes at once a probable theory that Elam and *Ḳir* are corrupt forms of N. Arabian regionals. As for the former, a study of Isa. xi. 11; Ezek. xxxii. 24; Gen. x. 22 (P), Ezra ii. 7, 31 (especially),³ makes it abundantly evident that there was an Elam in the N. Arabian Asshur.⁴ And as for the latter, if we compare Amos v. 27 and 2 K. xvi. 9, we shall see that *Ḳir* too must have been in N. Arabia,⁵ at some distance apparently from the city called Ramshak.⁶ It is also highly probable that *אֲדָם פְּרָשִׁים* in *v.* 6, which has given so much trouble, should be *אֲרָם פְּתָרְסִים*, 'Aram of the Pathrusim,' unless, indeed, one of these names is a gloss on the other. Both 'Aram' and

¹ *T. and B.* p. 52; cp. *D. and F.* p. 24.

² Elam has the same prominent position in xxi. 2.

³ Read *עֵלָם אֲשֻׁר*, 'Elam of Ashhur.'

⁴ *T. and B.* p. 177.

⁵ Cp. on Amos i. 5, ix. 7. *אֲשֻׁר קִיר* may come from *אֲשֻׁר קִיר*.

⁶ See on viii. 14, xvii. 1.

'Pathros' are N. Arabian names,¹ and the Pathrusim may be referred to again as invaders in ii. 20 (end, see note). Nor is it too bold to affirm that Pārās (Ezek. xxxviii. 5), the name of one of the peoples represented in the army of Gog, Ezekiel's eschatological invader, is ultimately a corruption of Pathros; it will be observed that the next name is Kush, by which, did space permit, I could easily show that the N. Arabian, and not the African, Kush is intended.

If, then, there are no adverse phenomena—and I am aware of none—we seem compelled to suppose that (apart from glosses and scribal insertions)² the prophecy refers to a N. Arabian Asshurite invasion of Judah. The scene is highly picturesque. The citizens of Jerusalem have betaken themselves to the housetops to see some great spectacle—perhaps the withdrawal of the enemy—which flatters their national conceit, and, at any rate, postpones the danger which has so long been imminent. But Isaiah weeps bitterly at their disastrous shallowness of character. With the inner eye he sees the awful punishment of an inexpiable sin, which apparently he blends with the calamities connected by the traditional mythology with the Day of Yahweh (see on ii. 12; Amos v. 18). From these calamities Israel has hoped, by its special connexion with Yahweh, to be exempt. But no, Israel is soon to find himself fatally mistaken. The great Disposer of events purposes to 'distress Ariel' (xxix. 2); indeed, the inexorable judgment of the sword will begin with Israel. The appointed instrument for this will be Asshur—the Asshur in Yarḥam, *i.e.* in N. Arabia (x. 5). This we have learned from other prophecies, which only through the N. Arabian theory become fully intelligible. And surely the same may now be said of xxii. 1-14, which has preserved for us the names of four N. Arabian districts,³ whose warriors may have formed collectively the most important part of the Asshurite army.

By way of appendix to Isaiah's genuine prophecies, I refer now to four prophecies, which have all, in whole or in

¹ For 'Aram,' see on Amos i. 5; and for 'Pathros,' on Isa. ii. 20.

² See *SBOT*, 'Isaiah,' Heb. ed., pp. 24 f.

³ For other views, see Winckler, *AOF*, ii. 255 ff.; Hommel, *Grundriss*, i. 189 (n. 1), besides the commentaries.

part, been assigned to Isaiah, and are all attractive in some way, but difficult and of uncertain date. A recent discovery has invested one of them with special interest, and more space must therefore be devoted to it. This prophecy is the so-called 'oracle of Egypt,' chap. xix. The others are chaps. xviii., xxi. 1-10, and xxiii.

On the first of these (which has no heading) I can throw no fresh light, and can merely express my opinion that the original work has been too much manipulated and supplemented to be recovered. Is the land described in xviii. 1 *a* the S. Babylonian land of Kash,¹ or Central Arabia with its wâdys,² or African Ethiopia?³ And what are the swift messengers to say when they have gone to the people described in *v.* 2? It is not impossible to maintain the ordinary view (Kush = Ethiopia), but this involves holding that the prophecy as it stands is the work of Isaiah, and all the other Isaian prophecies appear to have a N. Arabian reference. The text is in many places liable to suspicion,⁴ especially the description of the foreign people. Verse 3 is exceptionally clear, but does not cohere with the context, and may be due to a supplementer. One would have expected something equivalent to a refusal of Yahweh's sanction to a foreign alliance.

CHAP. xix.—'ORACLE OF EGYPT (?).'

That no part of this composite work can be assigned to Isaiah, or can even be pre-exilic at all, is held by an increasing number of scholars. Writing in 1895 (*Introd. to Isaiah*), I was unable to find any stylistic indications of the great prophet, or any circumstantial references which conclusively pointed to the pre-exilic period. Even with regard to *vv.* 1-15, which some scholars have endeavoured to rescue for Isaiah, I had to say⁵ that all the details of the prophecy, except one (see *v.* 4), were too conventional for critical use. But I admitted that though stylistic and other evidence

¹ Winckler, *Untersuch.* pp. 150-156.

² Hommel, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, iii. 300.

³ *SBOT*, 'Isaiah,' Eng. ed., p. 160.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Heb. ed., pp. 108 *f.*, 196.

⁵ *Intr. Is.* p. 119.

seemed to point to the long Persian period, nothing compelled us to descend so far as Artaxerxes Ochus. The controversy, however, has passed into a new phase, now that, on the one hand, we have found in the O.T. records a Mišrim and an Asshur which designate respectively, not Egypt and Assyria, but regions in N. Arabia, and on the other, Aramaic-Jewish papyri have come to light, which tell us of a Jewish sanctuary, which may be that spoken of in Isa. xix. 19. Let me resume the question of Isa. xix. at the point which it has now reached.

First, with regard to the disclosures of the papyri. We learn from them that there was a Jewish community, and that a Jewish temple of the God Yahu¹ (Yahweh) existed at Jeb (Elephantine), on the frontier between Egypt and Nubia, during part of the Persian period, and even somewhat earlier. Several scholars² have hailed this fact as casting a new light on the maššebah at the border spoken of in v. 19. We need not, indeed, suppose that the stately temple described in the papyri was already in existence when v. 19 was written. A very simple 'altar-house,'³ with a sacred standing stone (maššebah), may have been all. The community which raised this sanctuary must, at any rate, it is urged, have been pre-Deuteronomic, because of the opposition of the Deuteronomist to maššebahs and the other appurtenances of Canaanite worship. Nor is a probable occasion for a Jewish settlement at Elephantine wanting. The original colonists might be the Jews who were sent to help the Egyptian king Psammetichus (663-610 B.C.) in his Ethiopian campaign. It is only Pseudo-Aristeas who mentions this, but (it is thought) Dt. xvii. 16 bears this out, referring to Manasseh's sending troops to Psammetichus in exchange for horses, and an allusion to this settlement has been conjectured in Isa. xlix. 12.⁴

¹ Cp. *T. and B.* p. 65.

² E.g. Gunkel in *Deutsche Rundschau*, June 1908; Whitehouse, *Exp. Times*, Feb. 1909; Steuernagel, *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, Heft 1, 1909; Sellin, *Einleitung in das A.T.*, pp. 70 f.

³ The Aram. אַנְוָרָא, which is applied in the Elephantine papyri to the temple of Yahu. אַנְוָרָא is also probably a Hebrew word, and occurs in 1 S. ii. 36, on which see *D. and F.* p. 24, with n. 1.

⁴ Reading אַנְוָרָא אַנְוָרָא.

This is, in truth, a bright conjecture, but that portion of the theory which relates to Isa. xix. 19 is unsatisfactory. It is unreasonable to suppose that the law of One Sanctuary was deliberately intended to exclude sanctuaries outside the Judaite border.¹ To insist that Isa. xix. 19 must have been pre-Deuteronomic is unwise; this assumes, not only that Deuteronomy was always obeyed, but also that the law of the Sanctuary is rightly interpreted by these critics. As for Dt. xvii. 16, that, too, has been misunderstood,² owing to the want of a keen textual criticism. I hasten to add that the well-known theory, which accounts for the altar to Yahweh (v. 19) in the midst of the land of Egypt (?), as referring to the famous temple of Onias at Leontopolis (in the nome of Heliopolis), and explains עיר החרם (v. 18) by the Arabic *hars*, *haris*, as 'lion-city,' is liable to equal objections.³

More solid gain may, I think, be derived from the results of a keener criticism of the text of the prophecies elsewhere. Again and again we have been compelled to recognise a Mišrim and Asshur in N. Arabia. At once, therefore, it becomes probable that the lands whose conversion to Israel's religion is anticipated in vv. 23-25 are, not Egypt and the Greek kingdom of Syria, but N. Arabian regions. In fact, if in xi. 11 the countries from which the Israelitish exiles are to be recovered are districts of N. Arabia, beginning with Mišrim and Asshur⁴ and ending with Yam, *i.e.* Yaman, it is difficult not to think that in other eschatological passages referring to Mišrim and Asshur the same explanation ought to be given. At least, some very special reason should be adduced for deviating from this general rule.

Let us return now to vv. 18-20. Evidently there was a Mišrite city called עיר החרם, or rather עיר החרם.⁵ The origin of חרם (again in Judg. i. 35), like that of שחר in

¹ *D. and F.* p. 110.

² *Ibid.* pp. 129 f.

³ See *Intr. Is.* pp. 106-109. On the site of Onias's city (Tell el-Yahūdīyeh), see *Seventh Memoir of Egypt Exploration Fund*, pp. 12, 21.

⁴ This is all that is original; Pathros, Kush, etc. are due to a glossator, who likes to air his knowledge of ancient names.

⁵ See *E. Bib.*, 'Ir Ha-heres.'

xiv. 12, is אַשּׁוּר, 'Ashhur.' Perhaps it was the city Asshur-Yarham, where, in Josiah's time, was the sanctuary which claimed the exclusive veneration of the Israelites of the border-land.¹ In the time of the writer but few of such Israelites may have been left, and their temple may have been ruined. For their comfort, probably, it is declared that there will be five pure Israelite communities in the land, and an altar (= altar-house) in its midst, and a sacred pillar (maṣṣebah) on its border to Yahweh.

It should be remembered that very possibly or even probably 'Neko' was king, not of Egypt, but of Miṣrim,² and that he annexed the N. Arabian border-land of the kingdom of Judah.³ And I would venture to call attention to a single obscure word in v. 28, which can only be explained on the N. Arabian theory. That verse tells us that altar and maṣṣebah will remind Yahweh that He has Israelite worshippers in Miṣrim, so that when these 'cry to Yahweh because of oppressors, He will send them a deliverer to rescue them.' One word here I have left untranslated; it is וֹרֵב, which, however it be pointed and rendered, is troublesome, and indeed superfluous. It is a natural and a safe inference that וֹרֵב is wrong, and we have seen that רֵב is sometimes a short popular form for עֵרֵב. Probably, therefore, וֹרֵב comes from וַעֲרֵב, 'that is Arabia.' This will be a gloss on לַחֲצִים (cp. below on v. 4).

This mighty deliverance is not for the sake of the Israelites alone. After witnessing it, the Miṣrites themselves will adopt the cultus of the Israelites (Judaites), and the Asshurites, as it seems, will follow suit. The whole territory of those N. Arabian peoples will become Yahweh's. Each member of the triad of nations has its own title. Miṣrim becomes 'my people,' Asshur 'the work of my hands,' while nothing greater can be devised for Israel than 'my inheritance.' In fact, these three peoples are all akin. In remote times they all worshipped the same gods—Yerahme'el and Asshur. Yahweh was the youngest of the gods; he failed to obtain full recognition except in Israel, but he too was of N. Arabian origin, and, as our idealistic

¹ See p. 20, and *D. and F.* pp. 27, 115f.

² *Ibid.* p. 35f.

³ *Ibid.* p. 38.

writer is assured, was soon to be acknowledged throughout the land of the kindred Abrahamic peoples.

We can now pass on to the section *vv.* 1-15. This is attached to the prediction of the revival of Mišrim by two linking verses, beginning—like the later paragraphs—‘in that day,’ but very different in their import. Does this section refer to the N. Arabian Mišrim, or to Egypt (Mišraim)? Verses 5-10, at any rate, would seem at first sight to refer necessarily to Egypt and the Nile. There are, however, three possibilities to be weighed. (1) Verses 5-10 may have been inserted with the object of transforming a prophecy on Mišrim into a prophecy on Mišraim. (2) A keener criticism may enable us to recover an underlying text of this passage relative to Mišrim,¹ which text was manipulated and expanded by the redactor so as to refer to Egypt. (3) Verses 5-10 may refer to the south of Midian (Mišrim being, according to Hommel, = Midian), which belongs to a well-watered region, connected with the Wādy-er-Rumma, and permeated by the old Minæan culture.² For my own part, I incline to (1) or (2). That *vv.* 1-4, 11-15 refer properly to Mišrim, is in the highest degree probable; Pharaoh is an easy distortion of Pir’u,³ Šo’an of Šib’on,⁴ Noph of Naphtaḥ.⁵ The ‘tribes’ of *v.* 13 are those of Ishmael (= Yerahme’el). The petty kingdoms or principalities of *v.* 2 are parallel to those of *x.* 10 (p. 334), and their names are given with some attempt at detail in *Jer.* xxv. 20, 22, 24-26, where all the names are N. or N.E. Arabian. The list of givers of oracles in *v.* 3 contains, without exception, names which I have shown elsewhere to have a N. Arabian reference. אֱלִילִים in particular (cp. on ii. 8) may here have its primary meaning of ‘images of (the god) Yerahme’el.’ In fact, Yerahme’el and his consort were, in one of their aspects, gods of the underworld and oracle-givers. That Mišrim was a Yerahme’elite country is certain, and when the ordinary, secular wisdom of the Mišrite aristocracy failed, it would be natural to turn to

¹ *E.g.* אֲרָנִים חֹרִי, *v.* 9, should very possibly be אֲרָנִים אֲשֻׁרִי, ‘Ashhurite purple’ (*T. and B.* p. 465).

² Hommel, *Aufsätze*, iii. 310.

⁴ See on xxx. 4.

³ See on xxx. 2.

⁵ See on xxx. 4, *Hos.* ix. 6.

that of the chthonian deities. The Judaites who did this in time of need (*D. and F.* pp. 124 ff.) only followed the example of the Miṣrites.

I have yet to speak of *v.* 4, where it is said that the Miṣrites shall be given up to a 'hard lord' (אֲדָנִים קָשָׁה) and that a 'fierce king' (מֶלֶךְ עוֹ) shall rule over them. It is unlikely, however, that no hint should be given as to the origin of the conqueror, and as all the smaller Yerahme'elite peoples were afraid of Ashḥur or Asshur, it is probable that אֲדָנִים קָשָׁה comes from אֲדָנִי אֲשַׁחֲרִי, 'the lord of Ashḥur' (cp. Gen. xlii. 30, 33); קָשָׁה is parallel to שָׁקָה in 'Rab-shāḡeh' (p. 350). Similarly מֶלֶךְ עוֹ probably comes from מֶלֶךְ עֲרָב, 'king of Arabia,' originally written 'מֶלֶךְ עֵר' and ר and ʿ confounded. We may confirm this by Hos. v. 13 (true text), where אֲשֹׁר and עֲרָב are in like manner parallel.

And what is the date of (at any rate) *vv.* 1-4, 11-15? If the prophecy is not *purely fantastic*, probably at the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim, just after the king of Miṣrim had imposed a heavy fine on the land of Judah, and carried Jehoahaz away to Miṣrim. The writer seems to anticipate, first a period of anarchy in Miṣrim, and then an Asshurite conquest. How soon after *vv.* 16-25 were added, must remain uncertain. The principal thing gained (as I hope) is that we understand the whole 'oracle of Miṣrim' much better. Of the date I am by no means confident.

xxi. 1-10—'ORACLE OF THE WILDERNESS OF THE SEA (?)'

'In some respects this little prophecy stands alone. It refers to a fall of Babylon, and yet there are points in which it is so unlike the deutero-Isaianic period that we are led to consider whether it may not refer to some other event than the capture of Babylon by Cyrus in 539.'¹ I cannot profess to have cleared up all the obscure points referred to. But whether or not this little prophecy and that great one which begins 'Comfort ye' relate to the same event, it seems to me extremely improbable that the Bābel of either prophecy was Babylon. I have elsewhere sufficiently considered the

¹ *Intr. Is.* p. 121.

question of a N. Arabian Bābel, one of the capitals of the Asshurite kingdom,¹ and of a N. Arabian Elam and Madai.² But I do not think I have pointed out that the writer of the heading of xxi. 1-10 still remembered that the prophecy referred to a siege of the N. Arabian Bābel. For the only quite satisfactory explanation of מִשַּׁח מְדַבֵּר יָם is this,—‘Oracle of the wilderness of Yam.’ Yam, as has been noticed already (on Hos. xi. 10), is, in a whole group of passages, the short for Yaman, *i.e.* either Yerahme’el or Ishmael.

CHAP. xxiii.—‘ORACLE OF TYRE (?)’

Reading Dillmann one is led to the conclusion that caution can be pressed too far. It is no doubt conceivable that supplementers and redactors sometimes skilfully pieced together small fragments of Isaiah, but there is no sufficient reason for stamping any verses or clauses or phrases in this ‘oracle’ as Isaian. The only recommendation of this theory is that it enables us to combine a slight concession to a relatively late tradition with an advanced critical hypothesis as to the date of the prophetic elegy as a whole. And now as to the grave problem referred to. Does the elegy refer to the capture of Tyre by Alexander the Great in B.C. 332?³ Or is it the destruction of *Sidon* by the Persian king Artaxerxes Ochus in 349 that is meant?⁴ If so, the צַר in v. 8 and in the heading must be due to the mistake of a redactor, who is also the writer of the epilogue (vv. 15-18), and perhaps also of v. 5,⁵ and of the heading. The right reading in v. 8, according to Duhm, Marti, and Sellin, is not צַר, but צִדּוֹן. At the close of the elegy they make another change,—נְשָׁדִים for כְּתִיִּים (Duhm makes the same emendation in Hab. i. 6).

These changes are, in fact, though violent, very plausible, until we have familiarised ourselves with the results of a criticism which gratefully accepts suggestions from the N. Arabian theory. But from the new point of view they are certainly incorrect. צַר and צִדּוֹן are districts of Ishmael,

¹ *D. and F.* pp. xiii. 57 f., 81, 119 (n. 6).

² *T. and B.* pp. 177, 159 ff.

⁴ So Duhm, Marti.

³ Stade, *Gesch.* ii. 208.

⁵ Certainly a later insertion.

i.e. of N. Arabia¹ (Joel iv. 4). כְּתִים or כְּתִיִּים has also been shown to be probably a N. Arabian ethnic, and to come from כְּשָׁרִים, while כְּשָׁדִים is a corruption of כְּשָׁרָם (Kashram)² or כְּשָׁרְמִים (Kashramim),—Kashram or Hashram is often used as a synonym for the more remote Asshur, but properly it means Ashhur-Aram, and therefore might bear a narrower application. Such is my view of the names. It may seem inconsistent with the references to ships, to the sea, and to Canaan. But the two former are not really referred to. As in ii. 16 ‘ships of Tarshish’ should be ‘castles of Ashtar’ (אַשְׁתָּר), and יָם as often, is, not ‘the sea,’ but the short for יָמִין. As for כְּנָעַן (Canaan), v. 11, it is an ambiguous term, being one of the names carried northward by the Yerahme’elites in their migrations, and may be used archaistically for ‘N. Arabia.’³ Passing to the epilogue, the writer of it made no mistake (as Duhm and Marti suppose) about the subject of the elegy, as if he confounded צַר and צִדּוֹן. He knew, as the poet of the elegy knew, that צַר was the short for מִצָּר (the capital of the N. Arabian Muṣri). Miṣsor, he says, is to be under the ban for seventy years, כִּימֵי מֶלֶךְ אֶחָד. Here, as so often, אֶחָד represents אֶשְׁחָד, so that the phrase means ‘the whole period of the king of Ashhur,’ and Ashhur and Bābel being virtually synonymous,⁴ we may compare the late passage, Jer. xxv. 11, ‘these nations shall serve the king of Bābel seventy years.’

The problems of ‘the oracle of Ṣor,’ or rather of the poetic elegy on Miṣsor and its prophetic epilogue, sorely needed to be re-examined, though it was perhaps a little outside my plan to go into them here.⁵ There is still one more which ought to be mentioned. I can be very brief, for few critics will profess to have solved the problem yet to their satisfaction. It is the reading and rendering of v. 13. As I have ventured to remark, the opening words should run, ‘Behold, the land of Kashram (Ashhur-Aram).’

¹ *T. and B.* pp. 46, 193.

² *D. and F.* pp. 62-64.

³ *T. and B.* pp. 85, 175.

⁴ *D. and F.* pp. 57-61. Note that, in Ezek. xxi. 24, the king of Bābel is said to have come from the land of אַחַר, *i.e.* of Ashhur.

⁵ Cp. *T. and B.* p. 193, and *Crit. Bib.* pp. 28-30.

But how shall we continue? One of the following words is 'Asshur,' which, as I have shown, is equivalent to 'Kashram.' The scribe had, in fact, found this out before us, and so—in a gloss which separates the two parts of the line—he wrote, *וזה העם הלא הוא אשור*, 'this is the people; is it not Asshur?' Next we have to deal with *יסדה לציים*. *יסדה* is unintelligible. I take it to be a corruption of a dittographed *אשור*, and *לציים* is, I hold, a mutilated form either of *לצידונים*, 'of the Šidonites,' or of *לצבענים*,¹ 'of the Šib'onites,' a descriptive appendix of *אשור*. *עוררו* should be omitted; it is but a corruption of *ארמנותיה = ארמנ'*. But this latter word should also go out; it has sprung from a marginal correction of *אניות* in *v. 14*. Thus the original text had simply—

Behold, the land of Kashram; | He has made it a ruin;

and the original gloss ran: 'This is the people; is it not Asshur of the Šidonites? They set up their watch-towers.' Certainly the scribe was right, for the next line runs—

Wail, ye castles of Ashtar, | for your fortress is destroyed.

That 'Ashtar' and 'Asshur' are synonymous, and that Kashram is = Asshur-Aram, has been already shown. So ends a striking piece of Hebrew literature, which we should have lost had it not been wrongly ascribed to the prophet Isaiah. From a literary point of view it compares favourably with the 'oracle of Mišrim,' but the theme of the two vaticinations is identical. The Mišrite land, with its well-defended capital, is to be devastated by the Asshurites.

8. MICAH SECTION

According to a plausible tradition (*Mic. i. 1 b*) Micah was a contemporary of Isaiah. He is called 'the Morasthite,' and it is generally supposed that this stamps him as a native of a town in the Shephelah,² called Moresbeth-Gath, and mentioned in *i. 14 a*, but not in *Josh. xv*. Two questions, however, now arise, the first relating to the reading of the place-name in *v. 14 a*, the second to the

¹ See on *צין*, *Am. vi 1*.

² See *E. Bib.*, 'Shephelah.'

adequacy of the reasons for distinguishing Moresheth from Mareshah. First, then, let us consider *v.* 14 *a*. As the text stands, it runs: 'Therefore shalt thou give a present of dismissal (1 K. ix. 16) to Moresheth-Gath.' But is it likely that a Judaite town would have been called Moresheth-Gath? Surely גת must have been miswritten for בת, a dittograph. To complete the correction of the text let us accept from Marti יִתְּנֶנּוּ and עָלֶיךָ, thus producing the line—
'Therefore a present of dismissal shall be given to Moresheth.'

Next, as to the distinction between Moresheth (מורשת) and Mareshah (מרשה).¹ מורשת is generally supposed to mean 'possession,' while מרשה or מראשה is left unexplained, —מורָשָׁה, however, may be simply another form of מראשה (Josh. xv. 44), adopted to suggest the meaning 'betrothed' (מֵאֲרָשָׁה). If so, *v.* 15 will probably be an explanatory appendix to *v.* 14, unless we prefer to suppose that a second reference to the same place arises from the writer's exhaustion of available place-names. In order to bring out the paronomasia which was evidently intended, read *v.* 15 *a* thus—

עַד מֵאֲרָשׁ אֲבִילְךָ יוֹשֶׁבֶת מְרָשָׁה²

On the whole, then, it is likely that Micah belonged to the Judaite city best known as Mareshah,³ near which Asa, according to the Chronicler (2 Chr. xiv. 9 *ff.*), won a great victory over Zerah the (N. Arabian) Kushite. Local tradition, we may safely assume, preserved a lively recollection of the horrors of a N. Arabian invasion, and whoever was the writer of i. 15—if a contemporary of Micah—must have looked forward, as a man, with deepest grief to the impending blow, by which 'the glory of Israel' should 'go unto Armel.'⁴ I may venture to say here that, like Marti,

¹ See *E. Bib.*, 'Morasthite.'

² The 'betrother' spoken of is, of course, the foreign conqueror.

³ Not an 'insignificant country town' (W. R. Smith, of Moresheth).

⁴ For עֲרֵעֶלְךָ read עֲרֵמַל, which, like אֲבִיל (Hos. x. 14), comes from יִרְחַמָּל. It is a Yerahme'elite captivity which is anticipated. W. R. Smith's ingenious idea (*E. Bib.*, 'Micah,' § 2 *a*) that the 'glory of Israel' was driven to take refuge in Adullam, but not banished from the land, implies a textual conservatism which that progressive scholar would not now have sanctioned.

I do not include i. 10-15 in the genuine work of Micah. In fact, its artificial paronomasias seem as little consonant with the character of a 'God-possessed' man as those in Isa. x. 28-32. Both passages may have arisen subsequently to the age of Isaiah and Micah. This result is not very important for the study of the true Micah, because no one can say that Micah's conception of Yahweh and his relation to Israel would either gain by the acceptance or lose by the rejection of the passage. It is not always thus. The acceptance of ii. 12, 13, and much more that of the whole composite second part of the traditional Book of Micah, would greatly affect our view of Micah as a prophet. And though ii. 12-13 is the passage generally mentioned as non-Mican in chaps. i.-iii., yet there are some other (apparently) later insertions, besides i. 10-15, not without their importance. For instance, take i. 2-4. This gives a setting to the dooms on Shimron(?) and on Jerusalem which seemed to later writers indispensable;¹ the setting is the world-judgment connected with the great mythos of the 'day of Yahweh' (pp. 24, 44 *f.*). To this is added a brief statement (*v.* 5 *a*) that 'all this is for the transgression of Jacob and for the sins of the house of Israel,' which is simply a poor redactional link between *vv.* 2-4 and the vigorous interrogations in *v.* 5 *b*.

It will be worth while to give a closer inspection to this earliest genuine passage of Micah's work. As the pointed text stands, it runs thus—

What is the transgression of Jacob? Is it not Shōmerōn?
What are the high places of Judah? Are they not
Jerusalem?

'High places,' however, in line 2 cannot be right. Following G and Tg., we have to read חמאת בית; במות is a corruption of בית, and 'ח' was accidentally omitted.² Nor is it clear that 'Jerusalem' is correct. As we have found already (see Hos. iv. 11, viii. 13; Isa. ii. 6), the higher prophets agree in holding that the religious abominations

¹ Staerk (*Ass. Weltreich*, p. 221) defends the Mican authorship of this passage.

² So Kuenen and Nowack. Marti is content with reading חמאת.

of Israel and Judah were borrowed from N. Arabia. It has also been shown (see on Isa. ii. 3 *b* and on 1 S. xvii. 54) that ירושלם is liable to confusion with ישמעאל, and (see on Amos iii. 12, vi. 1) that שמרון often designates an important place in the Israelite N. Arabian territory, the name of which was probably Shimron. Taking these results together, we should probably read the distich thus—

What is the transgression of Jacob? Is it not Shimron?
What is the sin of the house of Judah? Is it not Ishmael?

The meaning is now clear. The 'transgression' and the 'sins' are the same thing. They are the cult not only of the god, but of the goddess worshipped with special devotion in Ishmael or N. Arabia, and more particularly in the city of Shimron. This may be illustrated by the interesting fact that in Amos (viii. 14) the characteristic cult of Shimron is that of אשמת, which, like אשימה (2 K. xxii. 30), comes from some popular corruption of ישמעאלית¹ (Ishmaelitish goddess), *i.e.* Ashtart.

By this statement Micah places himself in the front rank of fighters for Yahweh (see Introd., p. 37). He denies that which the majority of his people strictly maintain—that the N. Arabian cults are beneficial to the national life. On the contrary, they will destroy Israel and Judah. It is true, a later writer, whose work (see above) is preserved in Mic. i., speaks of Lakish as 'the beginning of sin for Zion' (i. 13), but there is no radical inconsistency in the two statements (p. 37).

But Micah is not only an ardent though unsuccessful religious reformer. He is also a prophet of social harmony and righteousness. He does not mince matters with the oppressive wealthy class (see ii. 1 *f*., iii. 1-3). But there is one special form of unrighteousness, which, if I mistake not, represents the climax of Judaite wickedness (see ii. 8). It is that avaricious Judaite nobles joined N. Arabian warriors in raiding Israelite territory. The passage in its present form is largely but not hopelessly corrupt. A clue to the original text is furnished by אחמר and מלחמה. The former

¹ See *T. and B.* p. 18.

word (= תמול) here, as often, is a corruption of ישמעאל; the latter, almost as certainly, comes from מלח, a popular corruption of ירחמאל (see on Hos. i. 7). Plainly עמי, too, cannot be right, a reference to Yahweh's oppressed people (see v. 9) is out of place here; probably it is a fragment, redactionally manipulated, of ישמע (1 Chr. iv. 3) = ישמעאל, a gloss on אתמול. Another gloss on the same word underlies the impossible שלמה ממול, viz. 'אתמול ש', 'Salmaite Ishmael.' יקום has arisen, by dittography of מ, from יקום. יקום seems to have come from ערב [עם]; תפשוטון should be תפשוטון; תפשוטון should be תפשוטון. מלחמה, as we have seen, represents ירחמאל, a gloss on ערב.

I have given these details, in order to preclude the charge of arbitrariness. I will venture also to attempt a corresponding restoration of v. 6 (with the addition of האמור (בית יעקב) and v. 9, and will then combine the results into a connected translation. Verse 7, which interrupts the connexion, may be disregarded as redactional. As to v. 6, all from אל-חשיפו to ישיפו has been derived by the redactor from corruptly repeated forms of הלא תפשוטון. נלמות, לאלה, and האמור are redactional fictions, based upon corruptly repeated forms of ירחמאל and ארם. To 'ירח' prefix עם, which has dropped out. לא יסב probably comes from ישמעאל, a variant. Close the line with בית יעקב. And now as to v. 9. Here there is not so much to mention. For מבית read מבני¹ (i. 16); מבני was written מבי, and this was afterwards mistaken for מבית. Also, for הן read הן (ἐαὐτῶν). The translation promised is as follows (I omit glosses):

Do ye not go on raids [with] Yerahme'el, O house of Jacob?
Indeed, when Ishmael arises as a foe,
[With] Arabians ye go on raids;
Some that pass by securely ye make captives.
The women of my people ye drive away
From their tenderly beloved children;
From their little ones ye take away my glory for ever.

How indignant the prophetic writers were at the selling of Israelites to slave-merchants, we know from Am. i. 6, 9; Joel iv. 6. More especially we learn from our present

¹ So Wellhausen, Nowack, Marti.

passage that Micah's feelings were stirred at the separation of mothers and children; and not less indignant was he at the loss incurred by Israelite children of their most glorious privilege—that of belonging to Yahweh's people.

The traditional text of the passage just now reinterpreted is, no doubt, extraordinarily difficult. The pressure of far-reaching corruption cannot be denied. What can the text possibly mean? It seems to say (in *v.* 8) that Yahweh's people has lately taken up a hostile attitude towards peaceful, unsuspecting wayfarers. But how can Yahweh's people do anything of the kind? And what is the meaning of pulling off the robe (?) 'clean away (?) from the garment'? This looks like mere vulgar robbery. And how does *v.* 9 cohere with *v.* 8? As Nowack remarks, some definite outrage upon morality is meant, but what? There must have been very peculiar circumstances, and it should be possible, using the right methods, to detect the words describing these circumstances underneath the corruptions of the text. I venture to hope that I have at least made a near approach to the original text. To make common cause with the N. Arabians, from whom constant danger threatened both 'houses of Israel,' was indeed a treacherous, treasonable act.

No wonder that the prophet is irresistibly impelled to pronounce the doom of captivity against such inhuman Israelites. Those who 'drove away' others (*v.* 9*a*) shall be 'driven away' themselves.

[Therefore] arise, get you away;
Here is no abiding-place;
Because of uncleanness shall ye be destroyed¹
With irreversible² ruin.

It would seem as if the captivity which Micah anticipated were for the higher class rather than for the humble class of cultivators of the soil. Certainly the address here is made to the oppressive grandees rather than to the oppressed people; presently he will speak of the judges and the prophets as sharers in a terrible catastrophe, and in *iii.* 12 we are definitely told that the punishment of the guilty

¹ Read יִחַדְתֶּם, with 𐤇𐤍𐤔.

² Read יִחַדְתֶּם, with Grätz and Marti.

classes is the destruction of the capital. Even if the 'glory of Israel' has gone to Armel or Yerahme'el (i. 15 *b*), and Jerusalem, the centre of Israel's sin, has been destroyed, yet the people has not ceased to exist, and we cannot suppose that in such a case priests and prophets would be entirely wanting to supply the religious needs of those who were left.

This is the close—the famous close (Jer. xxvi. 17-19)—of the admittedly genuine prophecy of Micah:

Therefore, because of you
 Zion shall be ploughed as the open country,
 Jerusalem shall become heaps,
 And the temple-mountain a wooded height.¹

But can we be quite sure that this is all that Micah had to say? Nowack thinks not, and that fragments of his work may be imbedded in the composite appendix, chaps. iv.-vii. Experience, however, confirms the belief that the prophets of the great age prophesied of ruin and of woe, and refrained from weakening their threatenings by gracious consolatory promises. The theme of our prophet (i. 5 *b*) is short enough, and the doom of Shimron is contained within a single quatrain; why should we be surprised that a single quatrain (iii. 12, see above) is all that is allotted for the doom of Jerusalem? It is true, a siege of Jerusalem is referred to in iv. 8 *ff.*, but there is nothing to connect this with Micah's words in iii. 12.

A few lines may, however, be spared for the description of a siege just mentioned. Chap. iv. 8-10 *a*, v. 9-14 may possibly form a connected passage. 'On an improved textual basis we can affirm with much probability that some post-exilic writer, looking back on the Babylonian invasion, described, in the style of prediction, how the N. Arabian peoples (whose outrages impressed most of the Jews much more than those of the Chaldæans) came against Jerusalem and carried away some of its inhabitants as captives, and how the civil and religious system of Judah, which was permeated with falsehood, was destroyed. From what

¹ Read נִצָּח, with G.

context this passage was taken we know not. The editor who placed it in the book of Micah appears to have sought to correct the severity of its tone.¹ This he did by inserting iv. 10 *b*–14, and v. 1, 3, or v. 4 *f*., which tell how the deported Jerusalemites will reach the city or district called Bābel,² but even there in the heart of the enemies' land, will be delivered, and how the Ishmaelite plunderers will suffer a crushing defeat at Zarephath. There is also a Messianic prophecy, evidently post-exilic, with an unmetrical later insertion (v. 2), which alludes to Isa. viii. 14, wrongly assuming this to refer to the Messiah. Unfortunately there is much corruption of the text. But following out our analogies and parallels, we can clear up enough to justify our view of the contents.

Thus the improbable or impossible words at the head of iv. 14 should be *הִתְנַחֵם בְּתַבְּרֵי גִלְעָד*, 'Stir thyself, O people of Gilead,' referring to the Israelites or Judaites left in the southern Gilead. *מִצּוֹר יִשְׁמַעֲלִים שֶׁם עָלֵינוּ* comes from *מִצּוֹר יִשְׁמַעֲלִים*, 'Mis̱sor of the Ishmaelites,' which is a misplaced gloss on the *יִשְׁמַעֲלִים* underlying *יִשְׂרָאֵל* at the end of the verse. *שְׁבַט* is probably a place-name, perhaps = Zarephath (see on *שְׁבַת*, Am. vi. 3). *שִׁפְטֵי* should be *פִּשְׁטֵי*. The strophe becomes—

Now stir thyself, O people of Gilead,

In Zarephath shall they smite on the cheek
The raiders of Ishmael.

Thus, too, the mysterious words in v. 4—so variously explained—*וְהָיָה שְׁלֹמֹם* receive for the first time an adequate solution, 'that is, Ishmael.' *שְׁלֹמֹם* or *שְׁלֹמֹם* is one of the most obvious of the popular distortions of *יִשְׁמַעֲלִים*. And thus in v. 5 'land of *נִמְרֹד*, parallel to 'land of *אֲשׁוּר*,' should be 'land of *רִכְמָן*.'³ It is needless, however, to go further, either by multiplying corrections, or by showing at length the bearing of those just given. All that need be now pointed

¹ *E. Bib.*, col. 3072. Note the correction there given of Micah iv. 8. *מִנְדֹל עֶרֶב* should perhaps be *מִנְדֹל עֶרֶב*; Jerusalem was now no better than an 'Arabian fort.' I do not say that the correction is certain; the redactor seems to have used more than ordinary violence.

² *D. and F.* pp. 57 ff.

³ *T. and B.* pp. 182 f.

out is the confirmation given to the supposition that there was a second Bābel in the N. Arabian land of Asshur (cp. 2 Chr. xxxiii. 11). The evidence from the Book of Micah that there was a N. Arabian captivity of Judaites is convincing, nor does it stand alone. How to reconcile this with other facts is a problem for the future. Truth is complex, and progress rarely leads to simplification.

9. JEREMIAH SECTION

Of Jeremiah we have more intimate, personal knowledge than of any other prophet. Not one of the goodly fellowship shows us so plainly what it cost to be at once thoroughly human and thoroughly God-possessed, that is, to be lifted up to the highest state of consciousness possible to a human being upon earth. Baruch had the honour of ministering to this great servant of God as a scribe; it is surely not impossible for us still to serve Jeremiah as scribes. His date we know. Granting that some of the later prophecies belonged to the time of Jehoiakim, and some to that of Zedekiah, it was obvious to the redactor that certain plainly earlier oracles arose under Josiah, and that some of these were of pre-reformation origin. The thirteenth year of Josiah (Jer. i. 2) may therefore be approximately correct as the date of the commencement of the prophet's ministry. So far, therefore, the modern Baruch is not called upon to show his skill as a scribe.

It is otherwise, however, when we come to passages affecting the question of Jeremiah's origin. Let us begin by considering the statement (i. 1*b*; cp. xxxii. 8) that Jeremiah belonged to 'the priests that were (settled) in Anathoth.' This reminds us that, according to 1 K. ii. 26*f.*, David's priest Abiathar had a family estate at Anathath. Presumably Abiathar's and Jeremiah's Anathoths were the same. But where, the modern scribe asks, was this Anathoth situated? One place of the name was in Benjamin (Josh. xxi. 18). There was also a Taanath-Shiloh, or, as we might read, Anathoth-Shiloh, in Ephraim (Josh. xvi. 6). The original Anathoth or Taanath was probably in the southern

or N. Arabian Ephraim—for there was such an Ephraim¹—and the name may have been carried northward in one of the Arabian migrations. This is a most easy supposition. Yerahme'elite names even occur in the Phœnician records. We have seen, too, that the Tekoa where Amos was born was not the Tekoa which most scholars have supposed. A similar mishap may have occurred here, *i.e.* there may have been a confusion between 'Binyamin' and 'Yamin' (= Yaman), so that Jeremiah was really 'of the priests that were in the land of Yamin,' or (as we might read) 'in the land of the sons of Yamin.'² This possibility becomes a practical certainty when we refer to vi. 1, which contains an appeal to the 'country-people of the prophet' (Duhm) to flee before the invader. The absurdity in which one is landed by the current exegesis of that passage shows that there is something wrong with the place-names, and experience suggests to us how best to remedy this (see on vi. 1). Jeremiah, therefore, was born and brought up among the Judaïtes settled at the Anathoth in Yamin or Yaman (*i.e.* N. Arabia), and it is probable that the family of his ancestor Abiathar, David's priest, was already settled there, so that, like David and like Joab, Abiathar was by birth a N. Arabian. It is hardly superfluous to remark that Abiathar (= Arab-Ashtar) is a N. Arabian name. Cp. *T. and B.* p. 40 (n. 3).

Certainly Jeremiah was keenly interested in the southern border-land and in its seething, restless populations. It is of these as well as of his own people that he is thinking³ when, in interpreting the inner voice, he says that he has been appointed 'a prophet for the nations' (Jer. i. 5). This view may seem to have against it the catalogue of the kings who, as well as the king of Judah, were to drink the wine-cup of Yahweh's fury (xxv. 15-29, cp. xlv. li.), but this is not the case if we scrutinise the text of that catalogue

¹ *T. and B.* p. 470. Probably it was a name of the N. Arabian territory which, since the fall of N. Israel, had been claimed and occupied by Judah (*D. and F.* pp. 18, 38, and *Crit. Bib.* on Kings).

² According as we account for בנ as an interpolation due to misunderstanding, or as an imperfectly written בני.

³ Or, at any rate, his redactor is thinking.

more closely. In fact, all the peoples or kingdoms referred to, apart from Judah, are surely N. Arabian.

Jeremiah then was, as the opening chapter (whoever may have written it) says, a 'prophet for the nations.' And though neither xxv. 1-14 nor xxv. 15-26, nor any of the ill-connected passages which close chap. xxv., are Jeremiah's, yet the statements in xxv. 12 and 26 that ultimately the greatest of the N. Arabian powers,¹ whom all his smaller neighbours had reason to fear, should himself learn to know Yahweh's anger, are in harmony with what Isaiah said before, and are in themselves probable. One may hold this, and yet admit that Jeremiah did not always think consistently. For instance, in the second of a cycle of short poems² (iv. 11 b-18), he certainly anticipates that there will be a human agent in the work of destruction. But in the third (vv. 23-26) he speaks of a supernatural event—the disappearance of life and the return of chaos, and of Yahweh as the cause of all this.³ In short, he sometimes thought of the Day of Yahweh as imminent, and sometimes as preceded by a desolating invasion from a remote part of N. Arabia, frequently called Şaphon.⁴

It is true the commentators with one consent take צפון in its usual sense of 'north.' There may, thinks Gressmann, have been an old myth which spoke of a northern people, or northern peoples, as coming to destroy Israel, the terms of which survived in later times, without always having any real significance.⁵ This view has, it is true, a more scientific appearance than that which regards the north as equivalent to the north-east. But it is not therefore correct. It is unnatural not to take *şaphon* in the invasion-passages and elsewhere as a regional name. When, in Jer. vi. 1 (cp.

¹ Bābel is one of the capitals of this great potentate (*D. and F.* pp. 57 f., 81, 119); Sheshak is = Ashkar (*i.e.* Ashhur). See *T. and B.* p. 187.

² Duhm calls them 'Skythenlieder' (songs about the Scythians).

³ It is a very fine passage, and fairly represented in A.V.

⁴ See iii. 18, xvi. 15, and especially Zech. ii. 10 f. [6 f.]; cp. *D. and F.* p. 59.

⁵ See his *Eschatologie*, pp. 83, 93. He admits that *şephōnī* would be a very strange term for locusts, which would come to Palestine from the south-east. It has become, he says, 'an enigmatical *terminus technicus*.' What an admission!

iv. 5 f.) the prophet rhetorically directs signals of alarm to be given in various places, and the reason mentioned is that calamity 'impends from *ṣaphon*, and a great ruin,' is it not plain that some precise information as to the source of the trouble is meant to be conveyed? And when Ezekiel in exile sees a vision of God, preceded by a whirlwind coming out of 'the *ṣaphon*,'¹ must not *ṣaphon* be the name of the region where was the holy mountain of Sinai, *i.e.* of some part of N. Arabia? Or take the fine poem in Isa. xiv. Is it really in the recesses of the north that the sacred mountain which Hêlêl ben-Shaḥar impiously plans to ascend (*v.* 13) is situated, or did not the myth, of which this passage is an echo, say precisely where the mountain was? We cannot doubt that Shaḥar is a corrupt form of Ashḥur.² Surely, therefore, Ṣaphon is in N. Arabia. And if so, can we doubt that the eschatological hero Gog comes from the same region³ (Ezek. xxxviii. 15, xxxix. 2)? An examination of the other names is not adverse to this. And so a new and brighter light than any which Gressmann can offer is thrown on Joel ii. 20, where Ṣephōnî is, of course, not a cryptic eschatological term—the origin of which has been forgotten, but the ethnic belonging to Gog, who dwelt in 'the recesses of Ṣaphon.' צפון, another form of which is צפירן (Gen. xlvî. 16; cp. Num. xxvi. 15), is a dialectal variation on צבעון,⁴ which, in turn, like צרבה, צירבה, etc., is a modification of שבעל = שבעל. Cp. also, the much misunderstood צפון בעל (Ex. xiv. 2), and see references in *T. and B.* p. 50 (n. 3).

Jeremiah had three great aims, the prosecution of which absorbed his strength and made his outward life joyless. The first was to apply a testing process to his people, in case there should be any hope of averting Yahweh's anger. Evidently this was at one time the will of Jeremiah's Lord. For in iv. 4, a passage not denied by Duhm to the prophet, we find an appeal to his countrymen to 'circumcise' their hearts, 'lest Yahweh's fury come forth like fire,' and in vi. 27 we are told that it is by Yahweh's appointment that

¹ The article, as so often, is redactional.

² See *T. and B.* pp. 85, 202 (n. 4), 569. ³ *T. and B.* p. 157 f.

⁴ *T. and B.* pp. 86, 425; *D. and F.* p. 42.

his prophet is 'a tester,' *i.e.*, as the context shows, a tester of metals. It is said to be assured in that same context that Jeremiah already despairs of any satisfactory result. Later on he has entered into the philosophy of his people's moral decadence; the habit of evil-doing has become a second nature. 'Can the Kushite (Ethiopian) change his skin, or the leopard its spots' (xiii. 23)?

It was our prophet's conviction that the worst 'abominations' of which his people was guilty were the consequence of the large heathenish element in its religion. Hezekiah's son, Manasseh, had thoroughly naturalised the N. Arabian cults, and counteracted the efforts of those who were for the 'old ways' in morality and religion. Jeremiah's second aim, therefore, was to undo the work of Manasseh by declaring the wrath of Yahweh (the true Yahweh, not one identifiable with Baal) against the heathenish novelties. Never, if we may believe the prophet, was there such unnatural infidelity as that of his people. Pass to other lands, he says, and inquire whether the like of this has ever happened (ii. 10 *f.*; translated, p. 49). And then, by a 'pathetic fallacy,' he calls upon the very heavens to be appalled at Israel's folly (*v.* 12). It is noteworthy that, according to the text, he even suggests a religious embassy being sent to the inhabitants of the coast-lands of the Mediterranean, though, as Duhm remarks, syncretism was even specially characteristic of the much-travelling Mediterranean peoples. This is very strange, and not in itself at all probable (*cp.* p. 49). When Amos wishes to shame the Israelites, he refers, not to the coast-lands of the west, but to neighbouring parts of N. Arabia (see on Amos iii. 9). And the truth surely is that Jeremiah does not act differently from Amos. Good reason has been given¹ for holding that there was a Chittim in N. Arabia, and the probability has been shown² that *איִים* is a constant scribal alteration of *עִרְבִים*, and *אִי* and *אִי* of *עִרְב*. The first line of the quotation (p. 49) should therefore run: 'For pass over to Arabia of Chittim, and see.'

About 'Kedar' (Ass. *Kidri*) there is no difficulty. It is

¹ *T. and B.* pp. 166 *f.*, and see on Isa. xxiii. 12.

² See especially *T. and B.* p. 168, and note the proper name *איובל* = Arabia of Ishmael.

the name of a powerful tribe (Isa. xxi. 16 *f.*) in the Syro-Arabian desert, which became prominent in the time of Ashur-bani-pal. Apparently Jeremiah does not know who is the special divinity of Kedar or of Chittim, but assumes that these peoples have, at any rate, been faithful to their gods, and draws a pointed inference from this. No people has such a 'living god' as Israel has, and yet Israel has exchanged its glory (Yahweh) for such unprofitable deities as Baal and Ashtart. Such a passage can only have been written when the fortunes of the kingdom of Judah had turned for the worse. Then, doubtless, it seemed to Jeremiah as if Yahweh, provoked beyond measure, had lifted himself up in his strength, but there were also times when the friends of Baal and Ashtart would say that that gracious pair had conspicuously befriended them.

In truth, Jeremiah is neither a logical nor a consecutive writer. Partly this is due to late supplementers and redactors, but largely it comes from his intellectual character. His convictions were few and simple, and the wings of his prophetic rapture were soon tired. Nor has he the lucidity of mind which Jewish writers, who had been to school with the Greeks, displayed subsequently. No wonder, then, that he is so often intermingling the second and the third of his great aims. And what was the third? The third of the prophet's aims was to convince his people of the imminence of a N. Arabian invasion, both of the Judaite border-land and of Judah itself, as the merited punishment of Judah's infidelity.

For an example of Jeremiah's tendency to be unconnected and to mix up material regardless of strict logic, we may turn back to chap. ii. In *vv.* 10-13 he is absorbed in the thought of Israel's folly in exchanging Yahweh for Baal. Then in *vv.* 14-17 he describes a calamitous invasion, and after this he upbraids his hearers for being continually on the road either to Mišrim or to Asshur seeking help. Of course, however, Jeremiah cannot speak on any subject without being interesting even to a detached student.

For instance, in *v.* 16 he records the new and important fact of a Mišrite invasion during the earlier part of his ministry. Mišrite it certainly was, but was it Egyptian?

Duhm some years ago felt sure of this, and rendered or paraphrased thus :

Also the sons of Memphis and Daphne
Will strike the crown of thy head.

Thus, according to him, the event is in the future ; for myself I would rather render the verb in the present. We also differ about the place-names. Noph and Tahapanes he takes to be Memphis and Daphne in Egypt. There is, however, really but one place-name, and that a compound, viz. Naphtaḥ-ḥas,¹ Naphtaḥ of Ashḥur. Thus the couplet referred to should run thus :

Also the sons of Naphtaḥ-ḥas
Beat to pieces the crown of thy head.

The invasion is probably that of 'Neko.' It seems, in fact, that at the end of Josiah's reign the king of Miṣrim (not Miṣraim) succeeded in annexing the N. Arabian border-land of Judah to his own domain.² Verse 17 states the reason of this disaster ; it is Judah's infidelity to its God.³ And then come the indignant questions (*v.* 18) thus rendered by Duhm :

And now, what cause hast thou to journey to Egypt
To drink the water of Shiḥor?
And what cause hast thou to journey to Assyria
To drink the water of Euphrates?

The text, however, has, not 'Euphrates,' but 'Nahar,' which is parallel to 'Shiḥor,' and 'Shiḥor' is (like שִׁחֹר in Isa. xiv. 12) a popular corruption of 'Ashḥur.'⁴ Shiḥor and Nahar (properly 'river') must be the names of the streams (or torrents) bounding the N. Arabian Miṣrim and Asshur respectively. Hommel thinks⁵ that Shiḥor and Giḥon (גִּיחֹן

¹ *T. and B.* p. 554, and see on Isa. xxx. 4 (p. 346). We are reminded of Naphtuḥim, one of the genealogical 'sons' of Miṣrim (see *T. and B.* pp. 191, 378).

² Cp. *D. and F.* pp. 38 f.

³ It is true, Josiah was not personally guilty of this sin. But he could not wipe away the guilt incurred for his people by Manasseh. Cp. 2 K. xxii. 15-20, xxiv. 3 f.

⁴ See *E. Bib.*, 'Shihor.'

⁵ *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, iii. 283 ff.

here gives Γηων) are equivalent, and designate the Wādy Seiḥān in Central Arabia (the Gihon of Gen. ii. 13). The same scholar supposes Nahar and ha-Nahar to be the Hiddekel of Gen. ii. 14, which he identifies with the Wādy Sirḥān. I am sorry not to be able to follow him, but rejoice that independently we prefer an Arabian theory to that adopted by Duhm and the majority. That the latter is erroneous, will, I hope, be the conviction of most of those who have accompanied me hitherto. We shall therefore render :

Now therefore, what boots it to journey to Miṣrim
To drink the water of Shiḥor?
Or what boots it to journey to Asshur
To drink the water of Nahar?

I cannot, however, help suspecting that Shiḥor and Nahar should change places. In Gen. xv. 18 we hear of a נהר מצרים, which might be referred to as נהר *par excellence*. On the other hand it is undeniable that in Josh. xiii. 3 Shiḥor is spoken of as 'in front of Miṣrim.' The boundary streams of N. Arabia are difficult to make out.¹

Jeremiah, then, like Hosea (vii. 11, viii. 9, x. 6) and Isaiah (xxx.-xxxi.), regards it as waste labour to seek to negotiate a treaty with some N. Arabian power, whether Miṣrim or even Asshur. In ii. 36 *f.* he reiterates this. Such a course was tantamount to rejecting Yahweh, and the consequence would be that Yahweh would reject Israel's 'confidences.' 'But,' the people may be supposed to object, 'I have not rejected Yahweh,' or, to quote the words assigned by Jeremiah to his opponent (ii. 23), 'I have not polluted myself (by going) after the Baals.'² The notion of the speaker is that the worship of Baal (or Yerahme'el) is not inconsistent with the cult of Yahweh, since Baal, Ashtart, and Yahweh all belong to the same divine Company, and there cannot be any essential discord between the three cults. Jeremiah for his part denies all moral value to such worship; he refers particularly to

¹ See *T. and B.* pp. 262 *f.*

² *I.e.* the local Baals and Ashtarts. 'Baal' can be used comprehensively. לא הלבתי is a later insertion (Duhm).

Judah's 'way in the valley.' What 'valley' is meant is uncertain. In *v.* 24, however, the improbable opening words¹ seem to cover over a topographical gloss on 'in the valley' (בְּנֵי); the gloss is 'the wilderness of Arabia-Yerahme'el.' Considering the predilection of both Judah and N. Israel for N. Arabian rites and sanctuaries, it is probable (more we cannot say) that the rite here spoken of is that of the sacrifice of children, and the sanctuary one of the N. Arabian holy places specially noted for this abomination. Cp. Isa. lvii. 5.

It is not wonderful that our prophet has no belief in the divine Company. In the text of iii. 9 it is even stated that Judah 'committed adultery with stone and with wood.' The context, it is true, is in such a poor style, and so unlike Jeremiah's writing, that one might hesitate to quote it here. But the same statement is made in the prophet's characteristic manner in ii. 9, viz. that the 'house of Israel' (*i.e.* virtually Judah) addressed a piece of wood or stone as the father and begetter of the people, from whom help was to be expected in time of need (cp. Dt. xxxii. 6). 'Wood' (עֵץ) and 'stone' (אֶבֶן), however, are vague terms; what, more precisely, does the prophet mean? Cornill replies that the wood is an asherah and the stone a massebah; but surely the wood and the stone are alike represented as the father. The key to the difficulty has been already given. In the traditional text of Hos. iv. 12 it is said that the people seek oracles from עֵצִי and from מַקְלִי, but the text is corrupt; עֵצִי (like עֲצִירִי) comes from צִבְעֹן (*i.e.* Ishmael), and מַקְלִי from מִקְאֵל (cp. מִינְאֵל, *i.e.* Yerahme'el). Following this parallel we must, in both passages of Jeremiah, correct עֵץ into צִבְעֹן and אֶבֶן into אֶתְבָּן. Sib'on and Ethban are both corruptions of Ishmael. Ishmael, otherwise called Yerahme'el, was therefore (sometimes at least) popularly regarded as the supreme God and as Israel's 'father' instead of Yahweh.

We need not be surprised at the corruptions (perhaps not wholly undesigned) which have just been indicated, for in many places a name of Ashtart, which ought to have

¹ For מִרְבֵּר עֶרְבִי יִרְחֵמֵאֵל read פֶּרֶה לְפֶנֶּי מִרְבֵּר. Note the warning Pasek in MT., and see on Hos. iii. 9.

been given as שבעית (שמעית), or in a contracted form as שבת, is contemptuously altered into בִּשְׁת ¹ ('shame'). There is a good instance of this in iii. 24, where the traditional text has, 'But the shame has eaten up the possessions of our fathers.' Duhm and Cornill alter והבשת אכלה into הבעל אכל, whereas by simply transposing two letters we get the suitable sense:

But Shabbith has eaten from our youth up
The possessions of our fathers.

This is all of v. 24 that belongs to Jeremiah. 'Their sons and their daughters' implies that Bosheth means Baal, for the sacrifices of children were certainly not made to Ashtart. The rest of v. 24 must be due to a supple-
menter,² who, like most of his craft, was fond of catalogues, and in whose time the false reading *bōsheth* had already arisen. Some may think this a trifle; I for my part cannot take this view. The worship of Ashtart doubtless had a soft and agreeable side,³ but on the whole the result, according to Jeremiah, was pernicious. From another passage⁴ we know that the most damning sin of his people was frequenting the house of Ashtart, and even from the former less distinct passage we might suspect as much.

The passage which I have ventured to restore in one most important point forms part of a confession put into the mouth of penitent Judah (iii. 21-25). The voice of conscience is awakened, and on the very same bare hills where altars rose to Baal and Ashtart the penitents profess

¹ See on Hos. ix. 10; *T. and B.* p. 18; *D. and F.* p. 33.

² The supplementer forgets that the speakers were themselves among the sons and daughters whom he refers to; he also uses the wrong suffix (Duhm).

³ Ashtart was the goddess of love, as appears (I venture to think) from Cant. ii. 7, iii. 5. In these passages the daughters of Jerusalem are adjured not to play with such a grave matter as love, and the adjuration is 'by Šib'ōnith (a title of Ashtart),' to which as a variant is appended '[or] by Ar'elith of Ashhūr' (another title of the goddess). צבאות (as in the title 'יהוה צבאות') is a pious alteration of צבענית, and אֵלִיּוֹת אֲרִיאלִיּוֹת (see on Isa. xxix. 1). I may return to this elsewhere.

⁴ Jer. xi. 15, cp. v. 7, where the Judaïtes are spoken of as cutting their flesh (ritually) in the house of Zonah, i.e. of Šib'ōnah. See also Jer. vii. 18, xlv. 17 ff., and cp. *D. and F.* pp. 33 f., *T. and B.* p. 19 (n. 1).

their willingness to return to Yahweh. They remember, perhaps, how the pious Hezekiah was rewarded, and the intuition comes to them that the noisy cults of the hill-altars are useless. Of course it was not Jeremiah's object to be strictly accurate. The cult of Yahweh cannot have ceased, but he was at any rate not the predominant member of the divine Company, and those who felt with Jeremiah could not recognise the popular Yahweh as the true one.

The confessions of the penitents draw forth an answer from Yahweh. His first word is one of encouragement (iii. 22 *a*); his second, of solemn warning against self-deception (iv. 3 *f*). 'Break up your fallow ground. . . . Circumcise yourselves to Yahweh.' This is the necessary preliminary to vows of obedience; failing this, the divine fury will pour itself out on Judah. And then we are transported into the midst of the judgment by a cycle of prophetic poems (iv. 5-31).

Much might be said on these poems. It is unfortunate that the corruption of place-names should so greatly hinder the student. As the text of iv. 5 *f*. now stands, the Judaïtes and Jerusalemites are summoned to flee to Zion. There is a parallel absurdity in vi. 1 *a*, where the Benjamites are called upon to flee out of the midst of Jerusalem. In the former passage it is possible to effect a cure by simply omitting the introductory words, 'Announce ye in Judah, and publish in Jerusalem,' as presumably redactional, but no such remedy is possible in vi. 1. In this passage (cp. on i. 1) בני בנימן must have come from בְּנֵי יָמֵן, and ירושלם from יִשְׁמַעֲאֵל. One is bound to infer that in iv. 5 *f*. also ירושלם is a corruption of יִשְׁמַעֲאֵל. Duhm, I know, tells us of a *Liebhaber Jerusalems* in later times, who is never weary of referring to this city in his abundant supplementing. But did the supplementers reach quite such a low average of intelligence? May not we ourselves—'upon whom the ends of the age are come'—sometimes be in fault? This remonstrance applies also to the same scholar's remarks on readings. For instance, 'watchers (נִצְרִים) are come from a far-off land' may be unsuitable, but is 'leopards' (נִמְרִים) much better? Comparing the equally unsuitable עֵיר נְצוּרָה in Isa. i. 8, which (as we have seen) should be צְבֻעוֹנָה, we shall do best

to read צַבְעוֹנִים, 'Sib'onites.' The Asshurites could be equally well called 'Sib'onites' and 'Şephonites.' It may be helpful to add that in iv. 15 (as in viii. 16) it is the southern Dan which is meant,¹ and that 'har-Ephraim' in the parallel line is also a southern region.

Jer. vi. 1 should therefore begin thus :

Gather your goods to flee, O sons of Yaman,
Out of the midst of Ishmael.

By 'Ishmael' he means the N. Arabian border-land in which he is specially interested. The 'sons of Yaman (or Yamin)' are the Israelites or Judaïtes who occupy towns and villages in that territory (p. 47). They are bidden to seek refuge, and a redactor has inserted from some other source two lines about giving warning by signal (cp. on Hos. v. 8) to Tekoa and Beth-hakkerem, two N. Arabian places. Then we have a piteous lament for 'the comely, the luxurious one—the height of Zion.'² The little poem closes at v. 5.

It should be followed by (*b*) vi. 22-26 *a*, (*c*) viii. 14-17, (*d*) xiv. 17, 18, which are parallel in style and contents, and all relate to the invasion. (*b*) is powerful, though it does but repeat the features of the dreaded Şephonite warriors; Şephonite, I say, because, as in the opening poem (vi. 1), Şaphon is the name of the land whence the invaders come; (*c*) is chiefly remarkable for its dull, despairing resignation. In (*d*) it is not this, but rather a never ceasing grief that finds expression; the prophet is, at least, able to weep. It is not a completely overwhelming blow which Jeremiah has before his mind's eye. There is no mention of a siege of Jerusalem; it is rather the desolation caused by predatory bands of nomads which seems to be intended, though one must admit that in vi. 5 the destruction of Jerusalem's castles or palaces is apparently anticipated. But are not the descriptions imaginative, and therefore inconsistent? The language of xiv. 18 is certainly favourable to the raid theory.

There is a phrase which occurs in one of these poems (vi. 25 *b*)—at least as the text now stands—and which also,

¹ See *E. Bib.*, 'Micah,' 2; 'Prophecy,' § 40.

² Duhm, דָּבַר בַּח צִיּוֹן; cp. *Θ*, τὸ ὕψος σου θυγάτηρ, Σεων.

according to Duhm, exercised a strange fascination on later writers, a phrase which even that clever critic cannot explain. It *appears* indeed to mean 'Terror all around,' but we need a parallel to 'for there is the sword of the enemy,' and it is still less plausible in the other passages. Almost certainly the words are corrupt, and were quoted by later writers as words of hidden mystic meaning. To heal the corruption we must group the words with parallel forms elsewhere. גמר with רגם and מג (in רב-מג) and presumably also גמר, is a corruption of ירחם,¹ and סביר (*T. and B.* p. 159), like זורב and שמם comes from יסבע = ישמע = ישמעאל. It is a reasonable view that all the other passages in which this strange phrase occurs (Jer. xx. [3],² 10, xlv. 5, xlix. 29; [Ps. xxxi. 14])³ are dependent on vi. 25, which was already corrupted when those other passages (not Jeremiah's work) arose. How the phrase should probably be read in vi. 25 is now clear—גמר מישמעאל, 'Gomer from Ishmael.' Gomer is the equivalent of Gog, and the phrase attests an early tradition that Gomer (Gog) belonged to the farther parts of N. Arabia, as indeed we may learn from Ezek. xxxviii.-xxxix. In fact, the invader anticipated by Jeremiah is blended in his imagination with the eschatological hero spoken of, but not of course invented, by Ezekiel. It should be added that 'Gomer from Ishmael' is, in vi. 25, a gloss on 'the enemy.'

At this period Jeremiah was never tired of depicting the terribleness of the expected enemy. In v. 15-17 we have another of those descriptions. 'From afar will Yahweh bring him; unintelligible to thee is their speech; they are all heroes.' Such is the form of v. 15 given in Φ . MT. inserts 'a perennial nation is it, a nation from of old is it.' Nowhere else in the O.T., however, are איתן and מעולם applied to a people, and the form of the clauses suggests that they are glosses. Certainly glosses were very much in place in such a description, provided that they really helped towards identifying the people referred to. For this purpose it is clear that ethnics were required. Ethnics must therefore lie underneath איתן and מעולם. Now איתן

¹ *T. and B.* p. 157. Cp. ירח = ירח, Gen. xxxi. 47 (*T. and B.* p. 389).

² Φ does not recognise מסביר in v. 3; see Cornill.

³ Directly dependent on Jer. xx. 10.

is a Hebrew N. Arabian ethnic, corrupted most probably from אֶתְמָן (Ethman = Ishmael), and מְעֹרָם, omitting the initial dittographed מ, is a well-known corruption¹ of יִרְחֻמָּאֵל. According to the glossator, then, the nation of the invaders was variously called Ishmael and Yerahme'el.

Thus there is both a mythological and a historical element in these descriptions of Jeremiah. Gressmann's theory² does injustice to the latter of these. The eschatological reference is indeed traditional, but it was the recurrent danger of N. Arabian invasions which gave the geographical setting. The Scythians, who have so often been detected in the prophecies of Zephaniah and Jeremiah, have really nothing to do with them. I am obliged to emphasise this because of the confidence of the numerous advocates of the Scythian theory.³ That eminent student of prophecy, Prof. Cornill,⁴ goes so far as to say that Jeremiah's ill-success as a prophet was due in the first instance to the 'striking fiasco' which he had made with regard to the Scythians. The evidence which has been produced is sufficient, I hope, to enthrone the N. Arabian theory in place of the ill-fated Scythian. It tends to show that the Judaïtes (or at least the more thoughtful section of them) were aware of the N. Arabian peril, and that Jeremiah himself expected a catastrophe from that quarter which would dwarf the dimensions of every previous disaster. The depth of his colouring seems to be derived from eschatological theory, and it is this intensity which struck Ezekiel, and helps to explain that prophet's address to Gog⁵ (Ezek. xxxviii. 27):

'Art thou (not) he of whom I have spoken in ancient days by my servants the prophets of Israel?'

There were no doubt public-spirited and righteous men in Jerusalem who took a different line, and with whom Jeremiah neither sympathised nor co-operated. Such persons may be referred to in that remarkable passage

¹ *T. and B.* p. 322 (with n. 2).

² *Eschatologie*, pp. 174-176.

³ On the Scythians and their migration, see N. Schmidt's learned article, 'Scythians,' in *E. Bib.*

⁴ *Das Buch Jeremia* (1905), p. 85.

⁵ I leave it open whether Ezekiel is really the author of Ezek. xxxviii. f., or not.

about 'the lying pen of scribes,' which I have quoted already (p. 53). I have ventured to give these men laudatory epithets, because the collectors of the *tôrôth* (cp. on Hos. viii. 12) must have had not only a command of one branch of the traditional wisdom but patriotism, and not only patriotism but righteousness, and consequently religion. That the *tôrah* referred to in line 2 of the quotation was purely concerned with a non-ethical ritual is hardly credible. Surely Jeremiah is deficient in fairness; he is carried away by passion (p. 53). This seems to be confirmed by the sequel (viii. 9*f.*; see Duhm):

The wise are put to shame,
They are dismayed and taken;
The word of Yahweh, verily, they despise,
And wherein have they wisdom?

If I would gather their harvest, saith Yahweh,
There are no grapes on the vine,
No figs on the fig-tree,
And the leaves are withered.

The words, 'they despise the Word of Yahweh,' are very suggestive. The fault of these persons in the eyes of Jeremiah was that they had no recourse to the perennial fountain of prophetic revelation, and taught the people from a written legal compendium, *i.e.* probably from a primitive form of Deuteronomy. The defects of this compendium were much more obvious to our prophet than its excellences. There must have been points in it with which he was in full accord. But the importance attached to the temple, and the sanction given to sacrifice, together with the slight recognition of prophecy, were more than enough to ensure his condemnation. Even if the aim of its supporters were good the means which they took to reach it were bad. As the result, 'no grapes on the vine, no figs on the fig-tree.' 'The wise men are put to shame.'

Two remarkable passages of kindred import occur at different points in the neighbourhood of the above little poem, one directed against a superstitious belief in the temple (vii. 4), the other against a similar *Aberglaube*

connected with sacrifice (vii. 21-23). The form of these passages may not be due to Jeremiah himself, but the ideas surely are his. And then, in viii. 19, Jeremiah (who can doubt this?) tells of the bitter cry of his people,¹ 'Is not Yahweh in Zion? is there not a king in her?' The cry presupposes the old illusion that Yahweh, who dwells on Zion (Isa. viii. 18), must, by a natural necessity, protect her. The prophet records it with deepest sorrow, but has to reply in Yahweh's name, 'Why have they provoked me with their graven images, with foreign vanities?'—that is, Yahweh is not Israel's protector unless Israel's worship of him is pure. The whole passage (viii. 18-23) is most affecting; iv. 19-21 is parallel. Jeremiah, assured of the certainty of the invasion, lives through its various phases, though the worst is still hidden from him. 'The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved.' The winter, then, still remains, the metaphorical winter of utter ruin, even for Jerusalem. Jeremiah's heart is faint at the prospect. Can it really be that there is no remedy (cp. xxx. 12-15)?

Is there no mastic in Gilead?

Is there no physician there?

Wherefore has there come no healing

For the wound of my people?

'Mastic' (E.V. 'balm') is mentioned as a product of Gilead in Gen. xxxvii. 25 (cp. Jer. xlvi. 11). But the name Gilead, like other names, was carried with them by the N. Arabians in their migrations. Which Gilead, therefore, is meant—the trans-Jordanic or (see on Am. i. 3) the N. Arabian? There is no compulsion to think of the former either here or in Genesis, and if we reflect a little we shall see that one so keenly interested in the south-land as Jeremiah would most naturally think of the southern Gilead, to which he may, in v. 19, already have referred as 'the land of Raḥam.' At

¹ The text adds *מֵאֵרֶץ מִדְּבָרִים*, but is this suitable? 'From a widely extended land' (Isa. xxxiii. 17) is hardly better than 'from a far-off land.' Perhaps we should read *מֵאֵרֶץ רָחֻם*, 'from the land of Raḥam (= Yarḥam).' An early scribe may have fancied *מִדְּבָרִים* (miswritten for *רָחֻם*) to have been the short for *מֵאֵרֶץ מִדְּבָרִים*. The land of Raḥam or Yarḥam would be the Judaite territory in the N. Arabian border-land which would suffer first from the invasion.

any rate, a good modern observer could not find mastic growing in the trans-Jordanic Gilead,¹ and one cannot well suppose that Jeremiah would look to that region for competent and benevolent physicians. It is hardly necessary to add that the prophet does not mean to say that the Judaïtes of the south-land were the only sufferers; those of Judah and Jerusalem, who were the principal sinners, would, he well knew, be foremost among the sufferers.

So great is Jeremiah's sympathy with the imaginatively realised fate of his people that he could weep day and night for its slain (viii. 23; cp. xiv. 17). This is his human side, which still endears him so much to us. But he has also what we may reverently call sympathy with his God. This is how, in xii. 7, 8, he conceives Yahweh to speak—evidently Jehoiachin's deportation is still in the future:

I have forsaken my house,²
Abandoned my heritage,
Given the darling of my soul
Into the hand of her enemies.

My heritage has become unto me
Like a lion in the forest;
It has uttered its voice against me,
Therefore do I hate it.

Yahweh's feeling for his people is no longer love but hate, because his people is no longer a dove but a lion. A wayfarer has no love for the wild beast which threatens him, and how should Yahweh love a people which cries out against him and disobeys his commandments? Jeremiah, a God-possessed man, sympathises. True, something restrains him from saying straight out that he 'hates' his people, but he does at length imprecate vengeance on Yahweh's foes, and at an earlier date he wishes for a lodging-place in the wilderness, that by going thither he may avoid the sight of his people (ix. 1). By nature he is no hermit. Gladly would he, in Pauline phrase, 'rejoice with them that rejoice,' and, we may presume,

¹ Prof. Post, in Hastings' *DB*, i. 236.

² The 'house' and the 'heritage' are both the land of Israel. Cp. Hos. viii. 1, ix. 15.

'weep with them that weep.' It is only his exceptional calling which bids him 'sit alone.' His gloom is of Yahweh's making. His visions and auditions have brought him into a sympathy almost, even if not quite, complete with his God.

Jeremiah, then, came well-nigh to hating his people, and in return there were many who came well-nigh to hating him. But did he really utter this complaint?—

Woe is me, my mother, that thou hast born me,
A man of strife for the whole earth!
I have not lent, nor have men lent to me;
They all curse me (xv. 10).

Is it not rather Israel to which these sombre words apply—Israel, whose land was literally the apple of discord between contending empires?¹ The passage must be taken together with xx. 14-18, which begins—

Cursed be the day wherein I was born,
Let not the day wherein my mother bare me be blessed.

Surely it is the ideal righteous Sufferer who, both here and in the parallel passage in Job iii., is the supposed speaker.

Unfortunately, some of the most interesting passages of 'Jeremiah,' those in which the prophet seems to throw most light on his inner life, are also the most doubtful. All that we can assert to be reasonably probable is that there was a tradition that attempts were made on Jeremiah's life, and that these attempts proceeded from his kinsfolk at Anathoth (xi. 21, xii. 6). One of the supplementers made the most of this tradition. He wrote that Jeremiah became aware of his danger through a direct revelation of Yahweh. Previously the prophet had had no more disquieting presentiment than has the lamb which is led to the slaughter (xi. 18 f.). He is made to comfort himself by the reflexion that Yahweh judges righteously, and tries the reins and the heart² (v. 20). Whatever Jeremiah's enemies may say,

¹ On this and on parallel passages see N. Schmidt, *E. Bib.*, 'Jeremiah,' col. 2390.

² Jer. vii. 10, xx. 12; Ps. vii. 10 may be dependent on our passage.

Yahweh knows that he has not 'wished hither the calamitous day' (xvii. 16).

One of the poems of the class just now referred to (xx. 7-12) is specially touching because it refers to the internal as well as to the external sufferings of Jeremiah. It requires no effort to believe that the true subject of the poem is the ideal Servant of Yahweh (cp. Isa. l. 4-9, liii.), who may well have been identified with the martyr-prophet. The principal part of the poem is in xx. 7-10; v. 11 and v. 12 seem like later additions, and v. 13 is a final appendix in the style of the Psalms. I will quote here the genuine part, the beginning of which recalls the account of Jeremiah's call in chap. i.¹ A few textual corrections have been adopted from Duhm and Cornill:

Thou didst entice me, O Yahweh, and I let myself be enticed,
Thou wast too strong for me, and didst prevail:
I am a laughing-stock continually,
Every one derides me.

For as often as I speak, I must cry out,
'Injustice and violence!' must I call,
For the word of Yahweh became to me a reproach,
A mock continually.

And if I say, I will cease to think upon it,
And will speak (oracles) no more,
It becomes like a burning fire,
A pain within my bones.

And as for me, I am too tired to hold out,
I am unable to bear it,
For I hear the whispering of many,

Inform, yea let us inform against him,
All that are his intimates;
Observe . . . perhaps he will act foolishly (יִסְתָּח),
And we shall prevail over him.

Surely this is not a page from an authentic autobiography, but the attempt of a late poet to throw himself into the

¹ At the end of stanza iv. the corrupt phrase *māgōr missābīb* has been inserted from vi. 25 (see p. 384). The second half of the same stanza was copied into Ps. xxxi. 14.

circumstances either of Jeremiah or of 'Yahweh's Servant.'¹ The attempt is not wholly successful. The strength of the opposition to Jeremiah shows that his oracles were feared (for their supposed magical efficacy?), and not derided. In his later days, no doubt, he was in danger from false accusations. But can this have made him faint in well-doing? Another point may be mentioned. It is psychologically not impossible that a prophet may have sometimes felt that he had been enticed to his own personal disadvantage, just as he himself could, by an attractive oracle, entice one who consulted him to a course of action which would lead to his ruin (1 K. xxii. 19-23). But do we not feel that Jeremiah would lose in our estimation if we knew that such a thought had crossed his mind, and still more if he had put it into metrical verse? No; his self-sacrifice was complete. He wept, not for himself, but because, with the inner eye, he saw 'Yahweh's flock carried away captive' (xiii. 17).

As a prophet, Jeremiah's interest was, of course, mainly in Jerusalem, but, as a man, he may have cared at least as much for the south-land. In one of several short poems which are gathered, as it were, into a posy (xiii. 15-27) he speaks thus (v. 19):

The cities of the south-land are shut up,
And none opens them;
Judah is carried away entirely
To Gilead of Salmah (or Ishmael).

What the fourth line means will be clear from the note on Amos i. 6, 9; the right text underlies the corrupt traditional text. Further light is derived from the next little poem. Addressing Jerusalem, still in the language of vision, the poet exclaims (v. 20):

Lift up thine eyes and see
Those that come from Şaphon;
Where is the flock that was given thee?
Where are thy beautiful sheep?

¹ That superhuman figure, analogous to the 'Son of man' (= Man), whose career is described in Isa. lii. 13-liii.

The captors of Judah, then, were to come from Şaphon, and the captive people—Jeremiah expects—would be carried to some part of the extensive region subject to the king of Şaphon, such as the N. Arabian Gilead. The south-land would bear the first brunt of the invasion; the turn of Judah proper would come next. That Şaphon does not always mean 'the north' has been shown elsewhere (pp. 374 *f.*).

Perhaps the poetic posy from which I have drawn may be best assigned to the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign, when the king was still the loyal vassal of the victorious king of Mişrim,¹ and when, as can be shown with probability,² he not only strengthened the forts which he already had in the Negeb, but captured two strong places in the territory of Asshur. It is the period to which Jeremiah seems to refer when he represents Yahweh as saying, 'I spoke to thee in thy carelessness, and thou saidst, I will not hear' (xxii. 21).

Having quoted these words, it would be unfair not to refer to the larger context. Indeed, the whole passage, xxii. 10-30, deserves attention, not only for its intrinsic beauty, but for the sidelights which it throws on history. Not only, for instance, is the tradition of Jehoahaz's deportation to Mişrim confirmed, but we are made acquainted with another name of the youthful exile. Presumably Shallum was the birth-name and Jehoahaz the royal or accession-name. For some reason Jeremiah prefers in this case to use the birth-name, while—strange to say—in the case of the next king he uses, not the birth-name Eliakim but the royal name Jehoiakim³ (*v.* 18). Certainly the king, who even here bears the royal name, deserved the honour, for though Jeremiah's opponent, he was every inch a king. Verses 13-19 contain his portrait. Unfortunately the text seems to have become indistinct, and to have been misread or badly corrected by a late redactor who, however, deserves some credit for using up in his 'restoration' all the fragments that he could of the original text.

We may therefore hopefully approach the task of a

¹ On the doubt between Mişrim and Mişraim, see *D. and F.* pp. 34-37. The considerations there offered are not, as far as I know, affected by subsequent discussions.

² See *D. and F.* p. 56.

³ Cp. the change of Mattaniah into Zedekiah (2 K. xxiv. 17).

more critical revision. Something certainly has to be done; the ordinary view of Jeremiah's meaning is very unworthy of Jehoiakim. I cannot believe that the prophet would have been so ironical about the elegance of a new palace and the royal builder's fine taste for cedar-wood. Applying the critical methods at one's command, it is both possible and plausible to read thus:

He that buildeth castles with unrighteousness, | and forts
with injustice;¹

That maketh his neighbour to work for nought, | and giveth
him not his wage;

That saith, I will build me castles | and forts in Yarham;
And he captured for himself² Yahlon (?) in Şaphon, | and
Ramshah in Asshur.

Shalt thou go on reigning, because thou | goest to war with
Ah'ab?³

Did not thy father⁴ perform | judgment and justice?

He redressed the wrongs of the poor and needy; | then he
fared well;

Was not this to know me? | (This is) Yahweh's oracle.

It is satisfactory to be able to some extent to rehabilitate Jehoiakim. He was a worldly-wise and patriotic king, though he may not have been a good judge of religion. He did well to build fresh forts for the defence of his territory, and if, like Hammurabi long before, he used the *corvée*, we cannot, historically, blame him, though we must admire the prophet for his censure of what naturally seemed to him opposed to old Israelite morality.

¹ One of the forts or fortresses may possibly be referred to in xxii. 6. See *D. and F.* p. 51.

² Reading יִבְקַע לוֹ.

³ Reading מִתְנַהֵר בְּאַחַב. Certainly בָּאֵר is wrong. But Θ^B , ἐν Αχαζ is no better. For the right reading we must go to Θ^A , which has ἐν Αχααβ, i.e. בְּאַחַב. Ah'ab, i.e. 'Arabian Ashhur,' is practically = Ashhur. For other passages in which אַחַב should certainly be read, see on Hos. iv. 18.

⁴ The traditional text is most improbable. אָכַל וְשָׂתָה, as it stands, is due to the redactor, but ultimately comes from אֲשַׁכַּל אֲשֶׁתָּר (Ashkal Ashtar), a gloss on אַחַב. That אָכַל may be = אֲשַׁכַּל, is pointed out in *T. and B.* p. 40 (n. 3), and that וְשָׂתָה may come from אֲשֶׁתָּר in *T. and B.* p. 503 (n. 3). For the meaning of Ashkal and Ashtar, see *ibid.* pp. 26, 247.

Verse 17 may be disregarded as a mere redactional insertion which links together vv. 13-16 and 18-19. The latter passage has, I hope and believe, received its explanation, and thereby the formulæ of Judaite mourning have yielded fresh material for the history of religion. It may be sufficient, however, to refer to *Decline and Fall*, pp. 53-55; to repeat the explanation here would involve too great a digression. Nor will I here investigate the details of vv. 24-30. This passage relates to Konyahu or Konyah (*i.e.* Jehoiachin), and though some part of it is Jeremiah's, has evidently been overgrown by supplementary matter. As Jeremiah's work we may certainly claim these two striking stanzas (vv. 24, 28):

As I live, saith Yahweh, | though Konyahu were (in very deed)

The signet on my right hand, | I would pluck him thence.

Is Konyahu a despised work? | Is he a worthless vessel?

Wherefore is he tossed and thrown | to the land of Asshur
(*gloss*, Yerahme'el)?

Among the necessary textual corrections, it is enough to mention 'him' for 'thee' in line 2 (so Duhm), 'is he' (so 𐤁) for 'are they,' and 'to the land of Asshur' for 'to the land which they know not' both in line 4. The last line as revised reminds us of Isa. xxii. 18*a*, as revised (p. 353). The 'land of Asshur' is of course the land also called Saphon, and in the larger sense of the word Yerahme'el. Indeed, parallels elsewhere shew that the closing words of v. 28 in MT. לֹא יָדַע (𐤁) לֹא יָדַע come from a mutilated form of יִרְחַמְעֵל, which is a gloss on אֲשֶׁר (read by the redactor אֲשֶׁר, but rather אֲשֶׁר), while vv. 29 *f.*, which Prof. Duhm has already perceived to be an after-growth, has possibly developed, under the deft hand of the redactor, out of אֶרֶץ יִשְׁמַעְעֵל (a variant to אֶרֶץ אֲשֶׁר). I hope that my readers will be able to consider these suggestions fairly. A glance at Duhm's commentary will show (1) how impossible the existing text is, and (2) what a comparatively little step forward the older textual criticism enables us to take.

The gallery of royal portraits closes with Jehoiachin. It is true, Prof. Cornill is of opinion that xxiii. 1-2 and 5-6

are, not indeed a portrait, but a substitute for a portrait of Zedekiah. The prophet, that is, contrasts Zedekiah with the ideal king (*vv.* 5, 6). This implies that the expectation of the Messiah formed part of our prophet's religious equipment. Against this I would urge that the belief in this superhuman personage was still too closely connected with a questionable myth of Paradise for Jeremiah to sanction even in a much accommodated form. And as to *vv.* 1, 2, the phraseology is clearly not original enough for Jeremiah, while as to *vv.* 5, 6, they are surely just such a piece of comforting eschatology as we meet with elsewhere as a corrective of some old prophecy. The passage occurs again in xxxiii. 15-16, where, however, a slight difference of form will be detected; 'Jerusalem' takes the place of 'Israel,' and the name 'Yahweh Šidḡenu' (Yahweh our Righteousness), which in xxiii. 6 is borne by the Messiah, in xxxiii. 16 is attached to Jerusalem. The question therefore arises whether the latter version may not be correct, *i.e.* whether 'Israel' in xxiii. 6 may not be miswritten for 'Jerusalem.'¹ A symbolical name for Jerusalem would accord perfectly with the practice of later writers, and the fact that the last king of Judah was called Šidḡiyyahu cannot without fancifulness be brought into the question.²

The passage on Jehoiachin (*i.e.* the genuine part) is in fact too fine to bear anything after it. Strictly speaking, too, it is itself an appendix, *i.e.* it was written and inserted subsequently to the passage on Jehoiakim. Before it came into existence, however, an appendix or epilogue to the latter was provided in xxii. 20-23, a passage (certainly Jeremiah's) on which I may perhaps hope to throw some rays of light. The opening stanza runs thus :

Go up on Lebanon, and cry,
And in Bashan lift up thy voice ;
Yea, cry from Abarim, for broken to pieces
Are all thy lovers.

¹ xxxvi. 2 would be parallel. Cp. Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile* (1898), p. 95.

² But cp. Cornill's commentary.

It is difficult, however, to make out why the people of Judah (personified as a woman) should ascend the mountains which, at different points, overlook the whole of Palestine. And not less strange is it that in the closing stanza we read :

O thou that dwellest on Lebanon,
That makest thy nest in the cedars,
How wilt thou groan, when there come upon thee
Pangs as of a woman in travail.

It is a distinct relief to find that there was a southern Lebanon and a southern Bashan,¹ and that the part of the N. Arabian border-land, previously occupied by N. Israel, had been, after the fall of N. Israel, occupied by Judah. No one, I think, will complain if this beautiful poem has become less mysterious. The 'lovers' are those of the neighbouring kingdoms which had leagued themselves with Judah against the common foe.

Here I might reasonably consider the very interesting contents of the biography of Jeremiah, so far as it has come down to us. That, however, I have done elsewhere (pp. 55-59). Besides, here I am mainly concerned with the explanation of passages which are important for our general subject, but have to be first of all methodically purified from the dust of ages. I must therefore refer the reader to the introductory sketch of the fortunes of 'the two religions of Israel.' I have there also sought to do justice to the so-called 'lying prophets,' whom I would rather call 'narrow,' or 'nationalistic,' or 'optimistic.' I think that, like some later prophets, Jeremiah not only exaggerates the amount of immorality in Jerusalem, but also (in passages like vi. 13, xxiii. 11) underestimates the moral earnestness of the nationalistic prophets.

¹ *T. and B.* pp. 123, 457, 571; *D. and F.* pp. 138-140.

HABAKKUK SECTION

The question has been asked, Is Habakkuk to be grouped with the nationalistic prophets? We might perhaps decide in the affirmative if we could make it certain that Hab. ii. 2-4 was really the work of a prophet of Zedekiah's reign. Supplementing what I have said elsewhere (pp. 41-43) I proceed to consider this obscure passage. Prof. G. A. Smith renders the MT. thus:

Write the vision, and make it plain upon tablets,
That he may run who reads it.

Lo! swollen, not level, is his soul within him,
But the righteous shall live by his faithfulness.

In the Hebrew of three of these lines, however, there is corruption. In particular, the true text must give the name of a definite enemy (cp. on Isa. viii. 1). Applying, so far as I can, a keener and more methodical criticism, I have arrived at the following result:

Write the vision upon tablets,
That Yerahme'el (*gloss*, that is, Arabia) may be broken.

'Lo! he is swallowed up—cannot save his soul (*gloss*, Yerahme'el),
But the righteous liveth on by his faithfulness.'

The idea implied in *l.* 2 is that prophecy has a self-fulfilling power—a survival from the magic stage of religion (cp. Isa. ix. 9, lv. 11; Zech. ix. 1), and in order that this vision or prophecy may be fulfilled, it is to be engraven on tablets, in different localities, and so to be more completely objectified. As to the details, the existence of a verb בִּאֵר (*l.* 1), 'to make clear, explain,' is very doubtful; read here עָרַב, and see *D. and F.* pp. 135 (n. 2), 154. In *l.* 2, בִּרְאָה does not conduce to a clear sense. It probably comes from אֶרְקָבֹל, a corrupt way of writing יֶרְחֻמָּל;¹ the usual explanation of MT., 'that

¹ Cp. on קָרְבוּ, Hos. vii. 6 (p. 251) and on רָכְבוּ, Ex. xv. 1 (*T. and B.* p. 588).

one may read it fluently,' is violent. In *l.* 3, עפלה must be wrong; to restore parallelism, read נבלע.¹ For the same reason, for ישרה we should read ישיע. בר, as in *l.* 2, most probably comes from ברל, the short for רכבול (= Yerahme'el), a gloss. I may perhaps refer, both on this and on many other passages, to my article on Habakkuk in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, October 1907.

The 'vision' referred to implies a very optimistic view of the future, a view based on the prophet's assured conviction that Israel's foe is unrighteous. The foe may, it is true, have been raised up to carry out a special divine purpose. But even if so, it cannot be Yahweh's will that he should annihilate the people of Judah; the relative righteousness or faithfulness of Judah is a guarantee of its safety. It is the foe who will be swallowed up in Sheol,—the foe who will not be able to 'save his soul.' This view may conceivably have been that of Hananiah.

There is still, however, a point to be considered before we can safely take Hab. ii. 4 as proceeding from the circle of Hananiah. Has ii. 1-4 a right to follow i. 17,² or should we combine i. 2-4, 12*a*, 13 into a (post-exilic) psalm of complaint, and attach ii. 1-4 to it, on the ground that it is in the style of the psalmists to wind up a psalm with a cheering divine oracle? This is by no means improbable.³ Such an oracle as that in ii. 4 is indeed quite in the spirit of the psalmists, who had in post-exilic times to oppose the scepticism and despondency arising out of Israel's misfortunes. And even if I am right in detecting in *v.* 4 a fragment of a corrupt form of Yerahme'el, that need not preclude this theory, for N. Arabian oppression or persecution is probably often referred to in the original text of the psalms which underlies that of tradition. I conclude therefore that though Hab. ii. 4 is a highly optimistic prophecy, we cannot with much probability assign it to a contemporary of Jeremiah.

¹ נ of course often becomes ב.

² In this case one of the elements in the composite Book of Habakkuk will comprise i. 5-10, 14-17, ii. 1-4 (in i. 14 we must read יתקם). Its theme will be the imminent appearance on the scene of history of the Kasdim, or rather Hashramim, who, in spite of their overweening pride, shall not escape destruction. See note on the Kasdim of Habakkuk, *D. and F.* p. 94.

³ So Marti.

One thing, however, appears certain, that all the writers who are represented in 'Habakkuk,' are preoccupied by the thought of past, present, or future danger to Israel from N. Arabia. One could wish that it had been otherwise; the need of a more complete record of the relations between little Judah and great Babylon is so pressing. I have already given a mass of details,¹ but for those who have not access to these I will repeat a few of them here. (a) First as to i. 4. Plainly **על-כן יצא משפט** is repeated from *v.* 4*a*, and should be omitted; and almost as plainly **לנצח** is a redactor's emendation of an ill-written **לא-יצא** (repeated by mistake). The strange word **מעקל** remains. It is usually explained 'distorted,' but the verb **עקל** occurs nowhere else, and we do not want 'distorted.' Evidently, like **קמואל**,² it is one of the corruptions of **ורחמאל**, which is a gloss on **רשע** (the foes of Israel are assumed to be unrighteous).

(b) In i. 6 Duhm objects strongly to the reading **נשדים** (Kasdim). In his opinion not a single passage in the whole book compels us to think of the Chaldæans as the invaders and oppressors, while on the other hand there are many which absolutely forbid it. I agree with him so far as to think that Kasdim is a questionable reading. But to emend **נשדים** into **נתיים**, *i.e.*, as Duhm explains, the Greeks and their kinsfolk in the European empire of Alexander, seems to me as arbitrary here as in Isa. xxiii. 13 (p. 362). In fact, 'Chittim' scarcely means what Duhm supposes. In Gen. x. 4 it is the name of one of the sons of Yavan (*i.e.* Yaman), and therefore designates a branch of the widespread Yerahme'elite race.³ Most probably the **נשדים** of the traditional text has come from **נשרם** = **חשרם**, *i.e.* Ashhur-Aram, unless indeed **נשרים** is the short for **נשרמים** (written 'נשרמ'), equivalent to **Ḥashramim**.

(c) In i. 9*a* the MT. has the puzzling words,⁴ **מנמת קדימה**. They occur in the description of the 'Kasdim,' upon which name they ought to throw some light. And perhaps they do; the idea is new, but may, nevertheless, be

¹ *JQR*, Oct. 1907.

² *T. and B.* p. 332.

³ *T. and B.* pp. 166 *f.*

⁴ Marti (1904) admits that 'no acceptable correction has hitherto been found.'

true. Duhm would read *מגמר*, and render the clause thus: 'From Gomer they advanced eastward.' But can *פניהם* mean 'they advanced' in such a context? Otherwise, since 'Gomer' has nothing to do with the Cimmerians, but a great deal to do with N. Arabia, one might, if no better remedy offered, adopt the emendation. But may I not point out that there *is* a better remedy? Let us take our start from *פניהם*. Considering how often the scribes transpose words, and how often פ is miswritten for ב, it is reasonable to correct this word into *הם בני*; the latter word is in construction with some ethnic, presumably *ירקם* (= Yarham), which, by transposition of letters, and the easy confusion of ר with ד, became *קדים*, and then, redactionally, *קדימה*. Thus we get the gloss, 'they are the benê Yarham,' which is meant to illustrate the preceding word, viz., not *מגמת*, but *מיתמן*, 'from Yithman,' i.e. 'from Ishmael.' The line to which this word belongs is imperfect, but it is clear that the invaders are said to come from Ishmael. Hashram, therefore, is an Ishmaelite region in the larger sense of the word.

(d) In i. 12 the leading critics¹ agree that nothing can be made of *לא נמות* ('we die not') in its present position. But is there any suitable position for them anywhere? Duhm proposes *לא ימות*, which he renders 'immortal one.' I do not see how this can be. Read *הלא תמון*, or *הלא יתמון*, 'is it not Temun?' or 'is it not Yithmun?' 'Temun' or 'Yithmun' is = 'Ishmael'; cp. (c) and (g). It is a gloss on the doubtful word *אשם* in v. 11; cp. on *אשמת*, Amos viii. 14), which comes from some corrupt form of *ישמעאל*, such as *אשמן* or *אשמן*.

(e) i. 16 is almost equally baffling. How and why do the invaders 'sacrifice to their net, and send a sweet smoke to their drag'? Surely the most natural view is that deities, not net-fetishes (Eisler), are referred to. *חרמו* suggests *ירחם* (Yarham), and *מכמרתו* points to *רנמית*, i.e. *רחמית*, 'the Yerahme'elite goddess' (= Ashtart). To these divinities the pious Hashramim offer their sacrifices of thanksgiving.

(f) In ii. 5 the introduction of the wine-motif is very strange. But when we remember the tendency of N. Arabian place-names and ethnics to get corrupted (see on Hos.

¹ Wellhausen, Nowack, and Marti.

iii. 1, 2), we can hardly help suspecting that underneath יִין (to which the redactor prefixed the article) there lies יָוֵן.¹ (Or else read הַיָּוֹנִי, 'the Yavanite'). See *JQR*, October 1907.

(g) In ii. 6 neither עַד-מָתִי nor עַבְשִׁי has been reasonably accounted for. But it can now be seen that both represent the same phrase, viz. 'ערב תמול'. תמול, as often, = שְׁמַעְלִי. 'Ishmaelite Arabia' is a natural phrase here.

(h) The enigmatical הָעֵרֶל in ii. 16 calls out for a correction. We have seen elsewhere that אֶרֶץ, אֲרִיאל, and אֶרֶאֵל are corruptions of יֶרֶחְמָאֵל; why not also הָעֵרֶל? The sense produced is, 'Drink thou also, O Yerahme'el.' That the invader comes from N. Arabia, we know already from ii. 5, 6; see (f) and (g).

(i) As Gunkel and Marti have seen, iii. 8 b and 15 are different forms of the same text. These able scholars, however, cannot adequately explain the fact which they have observed; to do this, they require the N. Arabian theory. They see that תִּרְכָּב (v. 8) and דִּרְכָּת (v. 15) have both come from הִדְרִכָּת, but not that יִשׁוּעָה comes from אֲשׁוּר (the N. Arabian Asshur), בִּינָן from בִּים, and חֶמֶר from יֶרֶחָם (Yarham), also that מִיָּם רַבִּים probably represents יָמֵן עַרְבִים. 'Asshur' is, in fact, equivalent in usage to 'Yarham' or 'Yaman of Arabia.'

These details, to which others might be added, prove the closeness of the relations between Judah and N. Arabia for the period to which the writers belong. I say 'writers,' because it has been abundantly shown that the Book does not by any means altogether come from the true Habakkuk.³ Part of it, however, does, and this justifies me in grouping Habakkuk with Jeremiah, whose chief burden was the imminence of a N. Arabian (Ṣephonite) invasion, and who, like Habakkuk, finds the foe terrible.

¹ See *JQR*, October 1907; *T. and B.* p. 253.

² See on Hos. xi. 10 (p. 277).

³ Against Duhm see Marti and my article in *JQR*.

II. NAHUM SECTION

We cannot say this of Nahum, of whom, with a better right than of Habakkuk, it may be supposed that he had affinities to the nationalistic prophets. His prophecy (which was of course never delivered) falls into two parts (see *Introd.*), in one of which the writer speaks almost entirely about Nineveh, and in the other addresses her throughout, at least if the traditional reading of the place-name is correct. It is remarkable that the prophet has no dread of the mighty enemy, nor any consciousness of guilt attaching to Israel. It is the foe who is guilty, guilty by his persistent policy of lying and of robbery (ii. 12-14, iii. 1, 4). And who is the foe? Is he the same as in Jeremiah and Habakkuk? Or has this keen expression of nationalist feeling the unique distinction of being addressed to the Asshur of our history-books?

It is at present held that when Nahum wrote Assyria was already tottering to her fall. Already was Nineveh threatened, and when Nineveh fell, the conquering people of Asshur would exist no more. A near approach can be made—so it is supposed—to an accurate date for Nahum's prophecy. It must apparently (as Schrader first suggested) have been written between 663 and 606, the latter being the date of the fall of Nineveh, and the former that of the destruction of the Egyptian Thebes, called in iii. 8 No-Amon, by Ashurbanipal. Such is the general view, and yet there are good critical grounds for questioning it. First, because the description of No-Amon (iii. 8-11) implies a city standing on a mound and surrounded by canals,¹ which will not suit the proposed identification. And next because, in the two parallel passages (Isa. x. 9-11; Am. vi. 2) which Nahum has in mind, all the cities spoken of (except, of course, Jerusalem) are most probably N. Arabian (see pp. 333 *f.*). The event referred to in iii. 8-11 is therefore of unknown date, and the probability is that No-Amon is a corrupt form of the name of some N. Arabian place ('Amon' coming from 'Armon,' *i.e.* Ra'aman or Yerahme'el, cp. Armoni, 2 S. xxi. 8).

¹ *E. Bib.*, 'No-Amon' (W. Max Müller).

We are now approaching a revolutionary conclusion. Not only 'No-Amon' but 'Nineveh' must be a corruption of some N. Arabian place-name. This is not only in itself plausible, but in the light of results obtained elsewhere, is even in a high degree probable. Let this also be noted that in ii. 4 there appear to be several corrupt forms of N. Arabian ethnics,¹ and that the two supposed Assyrian loan-words² in iii. 17 have been mistaken; and further, that in an inserted passage (which may serve as a commentary on Nahum's genuine work) the foe is called בְּלִיָּאֵל (ii. 1), which is probably a corruption of יִרְבֵּאֵל, *i.e.* Yerahme'el. I do not see why the prophecy before us need have been written long after the Asshurite invasion referred to in the longer of the narratives in 2 K. xviii. 13–xix.³ Nahum himself was specially interested in N. Arabia, because he was, not an Elkoshite⁴ (MT. of i. 1, ⚡ [א*] *ελκαιοσεος*), nor an Eshkolite, but an Ashkalite,⁵ *i.e.* a native of the N. Arabian borderland.

I would fain avoid a superabundance of details, but there are some which I must mention under penalty of being misapprehended. One more of these I may therefore venture to give. It relates to Nineveh. There is at least one passage in the O.T. in which נִירוֹה cannot be rightly read by a scrupulous critic of the text, *viz.* Gen. x. 11, commonly read or interpreted, 'Out of that land he went forth into Assyria, and built Nineveh. . . .' Can 'Assyria' here be the right explanation of the Hebrew 'Asshur'? And can 'Nineveh' (*i.e.* the capital of Assyria) be the right reading? The objection is that 'Nimrod' (who is the subject of the verb in Gen. x. 11), according to the original legend,⁶ supported by a strict criticism of Mic. v. 4 *f.* (see p. 371), was a N. Arabian. Consequently, underneath נִירוֹה there must be some other name suitable for the place which was capital of the chief N. Arabian kingdom when these passages (and others—see on Zeph. ii. 13) were written. It may

¹ הרעלו, בחלעים, באדם.

² מַפְסֵר, פִּנּוֹר; see *Crit. Bib. ad loc.*

³ See *D. and F.* pp. 89 *f.*

⁴ Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Elkoshite'; Peiser, *ZATW*, xvii. 349 (1897).

⁵ On Ashkal, see pp. 40 (n. 2), 187; *T. and B.* pp. 18 (n. 7), 23, 40 (n. 3).

⁶ *T. and B.* pp. 182–189.

not, of course, have been the real name, but it must have been an appropriate name for Hebrew writers to employ, and have been easily transformable into 'Nineveh.' Now I can hardly be rash in affirming that the only such name is יָוָנָה. 'Yewānah' will be a feminine form of Yawan, a dialectal form of Yaman (which itself is a shortened form of Yerahme'el); cp. חָרֵב יָוָנָה, Jer. xlv. 16, l. 16.¹ The initial נ in נִינְה is a dittograph.²

In harmony with this I would propose to read the name in ii. 7 which the MT. gives as 'Huṣṣab' (חֻצַּב), 'Haṣṣib'onah' (הַצִּבְעוֹנָה), i.e. 'the Šib'onite goddess.' 'Šib'onite' was one of the titles of the great goddess Ashtart (Jer. v. 7; see *D. and F.* p. 34). The goddess of Yewanah should be carried away among the captives (cp. Hos. x. 5*f.*). The dejected 'hand-maidens' spoken of are those attached to the house of Ash-tart.³ Surely this result is worth having. It supplements the discovery already made⁴ that the god of Yewanah was Rakman, i.e. Yerahme'el. We now know the name applied by the Judaites to his consort. Now, too, we understand better how Asshur and Yerahme'el can have a wider as well as a narrower reference. There was racial and religious affinity between all the N. Arabian peoples.

The discovery of the true name of the Asshurite capital is of importance, not only for Nahum and Zephaniah, but for the strange little post-exilic story of Jonah. May I invite the reader's attention to a slight digression? The plot is most singular. This prophet of Yahweh, whose very name perhaps is a designed enigma (it may be read either 'Jonah,' i.e. 'dove,' or 'Yewanah,' i.e. 'Yawanite capital'), was directed by his God to go to Nineveh (?) and announce its impending ruin. The prophet at first evaded this, but afterwards repented and went. To his regret, king and people repented, and their destruction was averted. Of course, the story in its present form has been adapted to the view that the Assyrian Nineveh is the city referred to, but in an earlier form the story seems to have referred to the N. Arabian city Yewanah. The strange thing in the narra-

¹ The article in MT.'s חֻצַּב is redactional.

² *T. and B.* p. 188.

³ Cp. S. A. Cook, *Religion of Ancient Palestine*, p. 33.

⁴ See *Crit. Bib.* on 2 K. xix. 37; *T. and B.* p. 183.

tive is, not that the God of the whole earth should have had sympathy with Yewānah, but that a prophet, who ought to know the mind of God, should, on such a point, be out of sympathy with him. Jonah, at any rate, was capable (as he is represented) of regeneration, capable of becoming reconciled to his message. Nahum, according to his own prophecy, was not. The contrast is remarkable. It may, indeed, have been designed by the collector of the prophetic books, especially if the order of those books in the LXX be in this case adopted, according to which the Book of Nahum follows immediately upon that of Jonah.

12. ZEPHANIAH SECTION

We now pass to Zephaniah, a prophet whose work, though small and unoriginal, supplements that of Jeremiah in various interesting points. The names of several of this prophet's ancestors are, exceptionally, given (i. 1). Among them is Kushi, which, with a late statement (see p. 44), suggests that its bearer (Zephaniah's father) may have resided in the N. Arabian Kush.¹ Here, as elsewhere, we must look well to our goings. Plausible as Marti's analysis of the book into its component parts may be, the problems of the text are not sufficiently grappled with by this scholar.


Removing extraneous elements we obtain, as Zephaniah's contribution to prophecy—(1) a vivid description of the Day of Yahweh in its relation to Judah; and (2), an incomplete pronouncement of doom upon the neighbouring peoples, including Kush and Asshur. As we have seen, the Day of Yahweh is one of the elements of popular tradition which the writing prophets adapted to their own very unpopular views. In one passage, however, we find the unusual longer phrase, 'the Day of Yahweh's Sacrifice' (i. 8). What can this mean? Apparently the term 'sacrifice' has here become metaphorical, and means the wide-spread destruction wrought by an invasion (see Zeph. i. 16), and the guests at

¹ Hushai (the name of David's friend), 2 S. xv. 32, etc., may have a similar origin; cp. אחישר (1 K. iv. 6), אכיש (1 S. xxi. 11, etc.). All these names are to be grouped with Ashhur.

Yahweh's sacrificial feast (*v.* 7) are here¹ simply those who, commissioned by Yahweh, shall invade Judah. This mode of representation is probably based upon the old myth of a Day of Yahweh having relation to the whole earth. At an early period the myth may have begun to grow pale. In the form used by Zephaniah it refers to Judah and (see chap. ii.) the neighbouring Ethbalites, and even the more distant Kush and Asshur (ii. 1 ? , 12-14). It is a significant fact that these two ethnics, together with Şaphon, occur close together.

Let me now endeavour to throw some fresh light on obscure but not unimportant details. And first of all on those in chap. i. (*vv.* 2-18). This is a picture of the great day of Yahweh, quite in accordance with what Amos states in Amos v. 18, 20, viz. that Yahweh's day shall be darkness and not light (pp. 190 *f.*). It falls most naturally into quatrains, and in the second and third of these there are couplets which need some criticism and a consequent modification of our exegesis. I agree with Marti that quatrain ii. *b* (= *v.* 4 *b*) should most probably run thus:

והכרתי את-שם הבעל And I will cut off the name of Baal,
 ואת-שם הכמרִים And the name of the Kemarim.

The corrections here are due to , viz. in line 1 שם for שאר, and in line 2 the restoration of the article and the omission of the gloss עַם-הַכְּהֹנִים. שאר is evidently due to a redactor who remembered that the cult of Baal had been to a great extent cut off by Josiah. שם is virtually = 'ritual,' the recital of the titles of the deity being an essential of his cult. 'The Baal' (here I deviate from orthodoxy) was the chief title of Yerahme'el, though, strictly speaking, 'Baal' (בַּעַל) is a shortened form of Yarbaal (יִרְבַּעַל), i.e. Yerahme'el.² In Zephaniah's time, of course, the true significance of the name Baal had long since been forgotten, and 'Baal' was supposed to mean 'Possessor.' The true origin of Kemarim (כְּמָרִים) was also doubtless forgotten. It

¹ I lay stress on 'here.' In the original myth the guests can hardly have been human beings; they may perhaps have been destroying angels (Ezek. ix. 2). I differ, therefore, from Gressmann (*Eschat.* p. 137).

² *T. and B.* p. 50.

arose out of Rakmanim, and meant 'Yerahme'elite priests.'¹ In the same context, quatrain iii. *b* (= *v.* 5 *b*) should probably be read thus:

והמשתחווים לירחמאל And those that do obeisance to
Yerahme'el,
והנושבעים למלכם : And those that swear by Milkom.

In line 1 the traditional text has, not לירחמאל, but ליהרה, and some think that the offenders referred to are those worshippers of Yahweh who at the same time swear by Milkom. In this case we shall read הנושבעים. But however we explain the passage in MT. the mention of Yahweh by Yahweh himself is very strange. Hence Nestle long ago suggested reading לירח, 'to the moon.' This approaches a better solution of the problem, *i.e.* לירח is the short for לירחמאל or לירחמאל. It is perfectly possible that the cult of Yerahme'el was supposed by some to be different from that of Baal; just as Milkom² (read so, with 𐤎 , Pesh., Vg.) was the god of the Ammonites, so Yerahme'el (= Rimmon)³ was the deity of the Yerahme'elites or Arammmites. Baal, according to this theory, would be the god of the Canaanites. Whether the theory referred to be right or wrong, it is certain that the devotees of Jerusalem were unblushing syncretists. This is important for the date of the prophet, which is most naturally fixed in the beginning of the reign of Josiah, before the N. Arabian religious reaction of the reign of Manasseh had spent itself.⁴

It is in *v.* 7 that we first hear of Yahweh's sacrifice (on the meaning of which see above) and the attendant feast, and strangely enough, according to the text, the first offenders whose doom is fixed are 'the princes, and the sons⁵ of the king, and all those who put on foreign clothing.' What can this mean? Most find a reference to the Assyrian fashions which they suppose to have been in vogue among the nobles, and Marti compares 'the prohibitions of such luxurious garments,' which he finds in Dt. xxii. 11; Lev. xix. 19. But why should the cut or colour

¹ See on Hos. x. 5; Isa. ii. 6.

² *T. and B.* p. 51.

³ *Ibid.* p. 33.

⁴ *D. and F.* p. 22.

⁵ 𐤎 has ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ βασιλέως (בית for בֶּן).

of a garment bring a noble under the ban of Yahweh? There must surely be something more underneath the emphatic words of legislator and prophet. It will be best to let the legislator explain the prophet, but, with this object in view, we must first of all make sure that we have caught the legislator's meaning. שַׁעֲטָנִי, which, in both the passages referred to, he appears so peremptorily to forbid, has really nothing to do with the material or quality of a garment, but is a corruption of שְׁנַעֲרִית, and the prohibition (taken in connexion with parallel passages) should be read thus, 'Thou shalt not clothe thee with the garment of a Shinarite¹ woman.' Zephaniah, beyond doubt, has religious grounds for his attack on the 'princes.' Most probably they had married N. Arabian wives, and been induced by them to take part in mystic N. Arabian rites. A marriage of this kind would inevitably lead to a fusion of religious practices. At any rate, we know how popular the cult of Ashtart was in Judah, and a simulation of the female sex (Dt. xxii. 5) probably formed part of it.²

It accords with this that in the next quatrain (v. = v. 8) the doom falls first on 'all those who leap over the threshold,' *i.e.* probably the threshold of a sanctuary (1 S. v. 5); such 'leaping' involved the recognition of a god other than Yahweh, to whom the threshold (specially sacred in any house) was devoted³; cp. Isa. lvii. 8. The same persons are denounced in v. 8 *b* on another ground—they are 'those who fill the house of their lord with violence and fraud.' 'Their lord' (אֲדֹנֵיהֶם) is equivalent to 'their god.' Who that god is, is left uncertain;⁴ the ruling class at Jerusalem consists of opportunists. We must suppose the objects of Zephaniah's anger to have vowed rich presents to the temple-treasury (cp. Dt. xxiii. 18), and to have had recourse to 'violence and fraud' in order to fulfil their vows.

¹ 'Shinar' = Ishman-Arāb (*T. and B.* pp. 185 *f.*).

² On the questions involved see *T. and B.* pp. 565 *f.*; *D. and F.* pp. 119-123.

³ See *E. Bib.*, 'Threshold,' and H. C. Trumbull, *The Threshold*. Folklore evidence abounds. Cp. also the title of the important functionaries called שְׂמֵרֵי הַסֶּף, 2 K. xxiii. 4, etc.

⁴ 𐤇 gives 'the house of the Lord their God.'

But the doom of the great Day is not confined to the ruling class; the whole city—the whole land—shall rue its apostasy. The opening words of *v.* 10 are inserted; the original quatrain begins at קול. The text of *vv.* 10-11, however, presents important problems. They are connected with the words or phrases—משנה (the Second Quarter?), מנתש (Mortar?), עם כנען (merchant-people?), נשילי כסף ('laden with,' or 'weighing silver'?) מנתש occurs again in 2 K. xxii. 14, in which passage, and not less here, a more expressive name than 'Second Quarter' seems to be required. And a more significant name is certainly to be found if we pay attention to the habits of the scribes. שמן repeatedly stands for ישמן, *i.e.* ישמעאל; שונם, *i.e.* שאנם, has a similar origin, the transposition of letters being no hindrance. The name which underlies מנתש is therefore ישמנה, Ishmannah, and מנתש should be similarly corrected in Gen. xli. 43; 2 Chr. xxxv. 24, also ישנה in 2 Chr. xiii. 19. One of the quarters of Jerusalem was designated 'Ishmaelite.'

Nor is מנתש less easy to restore to its original form. We require a parallel to 'Ishmannah' and considering (1) how often, in compound place-names, חש and נש stand for אשחור and אשכר respectively, (2) how often תמול represents ימעאל, and (3) how constantly and capriciously the component letters of names are transposed, we cannot run much risk in correcting מנתש into מתונש¹ or תמונש, the meaning of which will be 'Ishmael-Ashhur,'—another name of the N. Arabian quarter in Jerusalem.

עם כנען may conceivably mean 'merchant-people,' but how much more naturally 'people of Canaan'! What 'Canaan' means here we may learn from ii. 5, on which I shall have to speak presently. נשילי כסף should, of course, be מלשי כסף, 'those who practise secret enchantments.'² The couplet to which these phrases belong is a gloss; it explains who were the inhabitants of Ishmannah or Methukash; they were N. Arabians, and were skilled in the arts of magic. For their destruction in the Day of Yahweh well may their vacant habitations lament.

As for the native population, no distinction can be drawn between worshippers of Yahweh and servants of

¹ Cp. *T. and B.* p. 107 (מחשלה).

² See *D. and F.* p. 19 (n. 2).

Baal or Milkom. There are, indeed, nominal Yahwists, but they might as well be exclusively Baalists, for Yahweh, they think, has become apathetic, 'he will do neither good nor evil' (i. 12 *b*). The consequence is a great increase of immorality. It is implied that a long period of quiet has been interpreted as a sign that Yahweh has left Judah to itself. The rest of the description is rather vehement than powerful.

Chap. ii., as we have seen, announces the judgment on other peoples. The part which belongs to the prophet falls, like the preceding prophecy, into quatrains, as Marti has pointed out. The question now arises, To whom is the opening appeal addressed? To Judah or to some foreign (presumably N. Arabian) people? The only restoration of ii. 1-2 *a* which gives a satisfactory sense leaves it doubtful whether Zephaniah can have written the passage. The restoration of the quatrain is as follows:¹

השתחוו לו כושים	Do homage to him, ye Kushites,
הנני לא נוסר	The nation that is undisciplined,
בשרם לא תהיו	Before ye become
כמוץ עבר	Like chaff that vanishes.

It may be objected that if Zephaniah wrote this he shows a humanity before his age (cp. Ps. ii. 10-12 *a*). But why not assign it to a supplementer? It is admittedly a late supplementer who says (Isa. xix. 21-25) that Asshur and Mišrim as well as Israel shall yet worship Yahweh. That Zephaniah was in advance of his age is very improbable. I incline, therefore, to regard ii. 1-2 *a*, together with the later supplement, 2 *b*, as a redactor's insertion, parallel to the humane statement in iii. 9 *f*., by which some late writer corrects the threat of retaliation to Moab and Ammon in ii. 8-10.

I do not, of course, maintain that the prophet Zephaniah is the author of that most stern threat. The charges brought therein against Moab and Ammon are precisely those which we know to have been brought against them after

¹ MT.'s *התקוששו וקשו* is impossible. *התבוששו ובשו* (Cheyne, *Proph. Is.* on Isa. xxix. 9) is too vague. ק and ה were confounded. לא נוסר (Marti); ἀπαιδευτον (G).

the fall of Jerusalem. The only passages of chap. ii. which I can assign to our prophet¹ are *vv.* 4-7, 12-14. Verse 4 begins, 'For 'Azzah shall be deserted.' Consequently *vv.* 1-3 (or, at any rate, 1-2 *a*) must have been substituted for some earlier passage which explained how it would come to pass that 'Azzah would be deserted. The prophet then refers to three other Philistine or rather Ethbalite cities which will also be destroyed, and, in *v.* 5, utters a 'Woe' on the entire region :

Woe unto the dwellers in the region of Yaman,
The people of the Kaphtorites ;
I will destroy thee to the last inhabitant,
Land of the Ethbalites.

The omissions and transpositions required by the poetical form adopted by Zephaniah are set forth by Marti, who, however, has not explained the regional names. In *l.* 1 Yam is the short for Yaman (p. 277). In *l.* 2 כרתים is a corruption of כפתרים ; cp. Isa. xi. 14, where read, not בכתר, but כַּכְּתָר. David's bodyguard were Kaphtorites and, not Pelethites, but Ethbalites (*i.e.* Ishmaelites), in short N. Arabians (see p. 67), for Kaphtor is not Crete, but some part of N. Arabia.² 'Philistines' (Pelishtim) is, in the Hebrew text, a corruption of 'Pelethite' (Pelēthi), and this, in turn, comes from 'Ethbalites' (Ethbali, presumably).³ 'Ethbal,' or Ishmael, is equivalent to Yerahme'el, in its narrower sense. כנען (Canaan) has been explained elsewhere⁴ in connexion with נשדים ; it is a gloss on ארץ פלשתים. Both Canaan and Kaphtorim were, according to Gen. x., of Ḥamite (*i.e.* Yarḥamite) origin. It should be added that in *v.* 6 הבל ימן and כפתר (as we should read) are equivalent glosses. For והיתה read וְהָיָה (Marti).

Verses 12 and 13 *a* form a fresh quatrain which continues the earlier doom-prophecy. Here the question is whether (1) 'Kush' means the African Ethiopia, or the N.

¹ Verse 11 is a later insertion than *vv.* 8-10 ; *v.* 15 is late, because it implies that the desolation is in the past.

² *D. and F.* p. xxiii. ; *T. and B.* p. 191.

³ *D. and F.* pp. xx-xxiii. ; *T. and B.* pp. 174 *f.*

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 94 *f.*

Arabian region so called, or even, if loosely applied, the Egypt of King Psammetichus,¹ whether (2) 'Asshur' means the familiar Assyria, or the N. Arabian country which we have found to be so often mentioned elsewhere, and whether (3) *šāphōn* is the common word for 'north,' or another name for 'Asshur.' We could not hesitate, I think, to admit the N. Arabian reference, were it not for the mention of Nineveh (*v.* 13) as the capital of Asshur. The same difficulty has already occurred to us in our study of Nahum. In Nahum iii. 7 Nineveh is referred to as the wicked city which Yahweh will destroy, and in *v.* 18 the 'king of Asshur' is spoken of, though probably in a gloss. At first sight it may seem obvious that 'Asshur' means 'Assyria,' and yet we have, I think, made out clearly that a first impression is incorrect.

In fact, in Zephaniah as well as in Nahum 'Nineveh' is a transformation of 'Yewanah.' An early gloss actually warns us that such is the case. The words עיר יונה have penetrated into iii. 1 (where a redactor has inserted the article), but they are really a gloss on העיר העליונה in ii. 15. The result is that N. Arabia is the region which is to be laid waste. But that is Zephaniah's imperfect statement of the divine purposes. A later writer knows that a time is coming when all peoples shall call upon the name of Yahweh, and when even beyond the streams of Kush—a conventional phrase for a distant part of N. Arabia—sacrifices will be offered to Yahweh by עתרי בת-פוצי, where עתרי may, perhaps, represent אשתרים, 'Ashtarites,' *i.e.* inhabitants of Ashtar or Asshur; cp. Isa. xix. 21, 23 *b*.

But here we must pause; the later development of Israel's religious hopes is beyond the scope of our present inquiries. An entire change in Israel's circumstances was the condition of 'the opening of the eyes to those that were bound.' And even when the summons to go forth was heard, not all had spiritual health enough to obey it. There

¹ 'Even Psammetichus, the restorer of a truly Egyptian kingdom, was nominally the heir of the great Ethiopian sovereigns' (W. R. Smith, *Enc. Bib.* 'Zephaniah'). Was it under Psammetichus II. that the Jewish colony at Elephantine was established? See Alt, *ZATW*, xxx. 288-297.

were still two religions and in some sense two Israels. A fascinating problem which awaits its solution from a fully equipped critic. May such a critic soon arise! May he help us to overcome our prejudices, to expand our horizon, to supplement more willingly old methods with new, and to recognise more promptly strange new facts!

Shine on us, all in armour, thou Achilles ;
Make our hearts dance to thy resounding tread !

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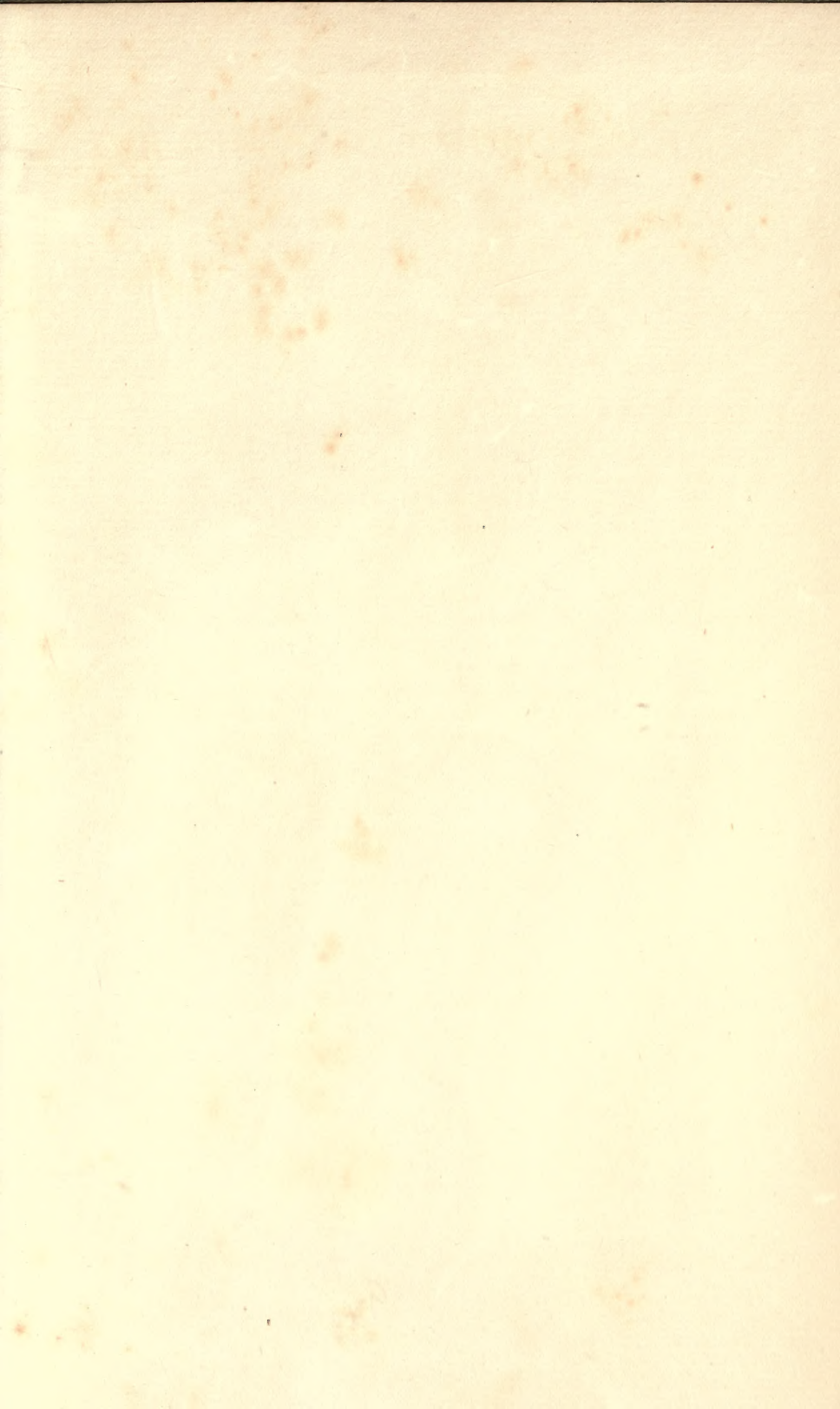
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